Maryland Historical Magazine

Published Quarterly by the Museum and Library of Maryland History
The Maryland Historical Society
Fall 1989

Maryland Historical Magazine Vol. 84 No. 3 Fall 1989

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOLUME 84 FALL 1989

CONTENTS

ISSN-0025-4258

 Published in March, June, September, and December. Second Class postage paid at Baltimore, Maryland and at additional mailing offices: POSTMASTER please send address changes to the Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201, which disclaims responsibility for statements, whether of fact or opinion, made by contributors. Composed and printed by The Sheridan Press, Hanover, Pennsylvania 17331.

Editor's Corner

This issue completes our 1989 celebrations by marking the bicentennial of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Baltimore, the bicentennial of St. John's College, and the 175th anniversary of the Battle of North Point, defense of Baltimore, and Key's writing the "Star Spangled Banner." Any one of these events might make a special number of itself. The following essays—one of them excerpted from a book due out later this fall—should at least provide readers some interesting glimpses at these large topics.

Jo Ann E. Argersinger has served as book review editor of the magazine for almost two years and given so generously of her time that even we who know of her energy and self-discipline have marvelled. She now departs to begin a term in the provost's office at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. I am sad to see her leave and thank her for all her professional help and moral support.

Cover design: Detail from Alfred Jacob Miller's "Bombardment of Fort McHenry, Sept. 13–14, 1814" (c. 1830). Painting in oils, Miller based his interpretation on his father's eye-witness account of the British attack. (Maryland Historical Society.)

"A Revolution More Extraordinary": Bishop John Carroll and the Birth of American Catholicism

THOMAS W. SPALDING

The period between the Peace of Paris in 1763 and the adoption of the Constitution in 1789 was formative not only for the United States but also for the Roman Catholic Church in the new republic. A key figure in the organization of his church in this Revolutionary era was John Carroll. To him would fall the task of adjusting an ancient faith to a new and strange political configuration. In the process he would create a tradition that would make the Catholic Church in the United States exceptional.[1]

At the end of the French and Indian War Bishop Richard Challoner, the vicar apostolic of the London District, sent a report to Rome on the state of the church within his jurisdiction. It included the English-speaking colonies of the New World. In Pennsylvania the Catholic religion was officially tolerated, he explained. "In Maryland, the laws are opposed to it as in England; however, these laws are rarely put into execution and usually there is a sort of tacit toleration." Some 16,000 Catholics were in Maryland, about half of whom approached the sacraments.[2] They were served by some twelve Jesuits. In Pennsylvania four Jesuits served 6,000 to 7,000 Catholics. "These religious," the bishop added, "manifest great zeal and lead edifying lives." They also ministered to the few Catholics in the adjoining regions of Virginia and New Jersey.[3]

The successful conclusion of the French and Indian War brought a sense of relief in Maryland that proved a boon to Catholics. Nowhere was the altered attitude toward them more apparent than in the silence that greeted the burst of Catholic construction in the years immediately following the war. Two missions were established and several churches built.

The Jesuits' residence at Bohemia, Cecil County, was in a ruinous state, and they decided to create a new mission farther south rather than rebuild. The long journey to the Catholic congregations of Talbot and Queen Anne's counties, Father Joseph Mosley explained, "had broken the constitution of every one who went down to [them]." In August 1764 Mosley himself was assigned the task of making the new foundation near Tuckahoe in Talbot County. It would be the loneliest and most demanding of the Jesuit missions in Maryland.[4] For the growing number of

Brother Spalding teaches history at Spalding University, Louisville, Kentucky. This fall Johns Hopkins will publish his *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789–1989*.

Catholics in western Maryland, served from both Conewago and St. Thomas Manor, the Jesuits decided to establish a center at Frederick Town. In October 1765 John Cary deeded three lots to Father George Hunter, still the superior in Maryland, for a token five shillings, and in 1766 the Society spent over £300 on a brick church.[5]

In Charles County Father Hunter built a more commodious residence at St. Thomas Manor, which probably included a new chapel. In 1763 he acquired about two acres near Pomfret and erected a modest frame chapel on it a year or two later.[6] In St. Mary's County a new residence was built at St. Inigoes. In 1766 Father James Ashby completed a church of brick and wood called St. Francis Xavier, next to the Jesuit residence at Newtown, today the oldest church in Maryland. The same year, Father James Walton raised a frame chapel called St. Aloysius about two miles north of Leonardtown, the county seat, on land donated by Mrs. Ann Thompson and another called Our Lady's Chapel at Medley's Neck. Not long after, he erected Sacred Heart Church at Bushwood, where the Slye family had long maintained a private chapel. All were served from Newtown.[7] Construction also took place in Pennsylvania.

The Jesuits had apparently decided that the time was ripe for providing regular church edifices for the larger congregations that had heretofore assembled in private homes or temporary chapels. Something approximating parishes developed.[8] A perpetual adoration society was inaugurated at St. Thomas Manor in 1768, and about the same time an organ, the first in a Catholic church in English-speaking America, was installed there. The oldest baptismal and marriage registers date from this period.

In the summer of 1765 Father Hunter forwarded a detailed report to his provincial on the state of the Maryland and Pennsylvania missions. In Maryland, he revealed, eight Jesuit foundations existed: St. Inigoes, St. Thomas Manor, Newtown, Bohemia, White Marsh, Deer Creek, Tuckahoe, and Frederick Town. They counted 12,677 acres and three town lots. Together they produced an annual income of £696, but Frederick received a yearly subsidy of £30. On the Maryland plantations were 192 slaves. St. Thomas Manor and White Marsh were the most productive. In Pennsylvania five foundations held either town lots or tracts that totaled 620 acres and produced a total annual income of £220. All of the missions of Maryland and Pennsylvania maintained chapels at their own expense. "Each master of a residence," Hunter added, "keeps about 2 Sundays in a month at home, the rest abroad at the distance of more or fewer miles, as far as 20 or 30, and the other gentlemen [Jesuits] all abroad every such day."[9]

The Maryland superior did not mention a mission projected for the city of Baltimore itself. As early as 1756 the Jesuits began to visit the busy port to say mass for the exiled Acadians in a house on the northwest corner of what is now Calvert and Fayette streets.[10] As the population accelerated, immigrant Catholics, mostly Irish, augmented their number.

On 4 June 1764 Father Hunter purchased from Charles Carroll of Annapolis for £6 Lot 157 on the corner of Saratoga and Little Sharpe streets to erect a church.[11] Its construction was left to the Catholics of the city, who did not take up the task until about 1770. Hardly was the roof on the church before the builder, John

FIGURE 1. Rev. Denis Cahill's late-eighteenth-century log structure was one of the earliest Roman Catholic missions in Western Maryland. (John Gilmary Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll,* Vol. 2 of *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* [New York: John G. Shea, 1888], p. 288.)

McNabb, went bankrupt. His principal creditor seized the keys and initiated a suit against Lorenzo Ganganelli, pope of Rome, in a futile effort to recoup his losses. The church remained locked for about five years. The Catholics of Baltimore continued to attend mass in a private house on Charles Street.[12]

The Jesuits probably would not have undertaken such an ambitious building program without the tacit approval of at least a few key officials. It was important, therefore, that no incident arise to disturb the new modus vivendi. When word reached Maryland of negotiations between Bishop Challoner in London and the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide in Rome for sending one or more vicars apostolic with episcopal character to the American colonies, the leading Catholic laymen drew up a remonstrance to prevent so "fatal & pernicious" a step. It would, the 256 signers claimed, "give our adversaries, bent on our ruin, a stronger handle than anything they have hitherto been able to lay hold on." In a separate letter, dated 16 July 1765, Charles Carroll told Challoner that a vicar apostolic would also undermine the peace and harmony that had existed between Jesuits and laity in Maryland for over 130 years. He insisted, nevertheless, that the Jesuits had in no way influenced the laity in its remonstrance.[13] Though Challoner was not convinced, he realized the futility of promoting such an appointment so long as the Maryland Jesuits were opposed.[14]

The prospect of an unwanted bishop paled by comparison to an even greater threat to the Society, that of extinction itself. As early as 1759 absolute monarchs, in an attempt to become even more absolute, had begun to expel the Jesuits from their realms and appropriate their properties. On 16 August 1773 Pope Clement XIV, under pressure from the Bourbon kings, issued the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* whereby the Society of Jesuits was dissolved throughout the world.[15] From Bruges Father John Carroll wrote his brother in Maryland: "I am not, and perhaps never shall be, recovered from the shock of this dreadful intelligence. The greatest

blessing which in my estimation I could receive from God, would be immediate death. . . ."[16]

On 6 October 1773 Bishop Challoner sent a form of submission to the American Jesuits for their signatures. All nineteen in Maryland and Pennsylvania signed and by so doing became secular priests.[17] Challoner, however, appointed Father John Lewis, who had succeeded Father Hunter as superior in 1769, his vicar general in English-speaking America. In practice nothing changed, but the impact of the suppression on the ex-Jesuits in Maryland was devastating. "To my great sorrow," Father Mosley wrote his sister in England, "the Society is abolished; with it must die all that zeal that was founded and raised on it. Labour for our neighbour is a Jesuit's pleasure; destroy the Jesuit and labour is painful and disagreeable."[18]

Challoner made no attempt to implement that part of the decree of suppression directing the confiscation of Jesuit property. As a result of the aversion of the second Lord Baltimore to land held in mortmain, the Jesuits as a body had never possessed land in Maryland. Title to the former Jesuit estates remained in the hands of individual priests to whom they had been entrusted before the suppression. The ex-Jesuits in Maryland, however, were never without fear that these estates would fall under the eye of the Congregation of the Propaganda, which was known to have had little sympathy for the Society of Jesus.[19]

With the dissolution of the Society, the feasibility of a vicar apostolic for America was again raised.[20] Political events, however, conspired to postpone the project for a decade. In December 1773 some citizens of Boston dumped East India Company tea in the harbor, and the American Revolution reached a point of no return.

The revolutionary ferment had been at work in Maryland for a number of years. Maryland's reaction to the Stamp Act of 1765 had been as violent as that of any other colony. Even members of the court party joined the outcry. Daniel Dulany the Younger published a tract that won the praise of patriots throughout the colonies.[21]

Fresh problems also arose peculiar to the proprietary government of Maryland. Not the least of these was a rising disenchantment with the Established Church. A number of vestries were on the point of revolt against unworthy rectors thrust upon them by the proprietor. Complaints against the poll tax that produced exorbitant salaries for the clergy grew angrier. In 1770 Samuel Chase and William Paca attacked not only the tax but even the validity of the Act of Establishment of 1702. A paper war ensued between them and the Reverend Jonathan Boucher, the most articulate of the Tory parsons.[22]

In 1770 another dispute erupted when Governor Robert Eden, who had replaced Horatio Sharpe the year before, fixed officers' fees by proclamation. A three-year battle between court and country party followed, complicated by the death of Frederick Calvert, the last of the barons of Baltimore in 1771. At the beginning of 1773 Daniel Dulany, his popularity still high, took up his pen in defense of the governor's right to fix fees by proclamation. The man who stepped forward to answer him was the son of Squire Carroll. The political debut of Charles Carroll of Carrollton would dramatically alter the place of the Catholic Church in Maryland.

Born 19 September 1737, this only son of Charles Carroll II had been sent abroad to obtain the finest education of any of the Maryland aristocracy. To St. Omer's he went in 1748 to study the classics, then to Rheims to study poetry, to Paris to study philosophy, to Bourges to study Roman Law, and finally to London in 1759 to study Common Law. In France he imbibed many of the principles of the *philosophes,* particularly Montesquieu.[23] Even before his return to Maryland in 1764 he had come to the realization that "America is a growing country; in time it will and must be independent."[24]

In Maryland Carroll examined the political terrain carefully and concluded that the Catholic community should perform a volte-face in its politics. Maryland Catholics, having lost faith in the Jacobite cause, had anchored their hope in the court party and placed their security in the hands of the upper house. Carroll was repulsed by these proprietary placemen, whose days, he felt, were numbered. He cultivated, therefore, the friendship of the new leaders of the country party, particularly Samuel Chase (son of the Catholic-baiting rector), William Paca, Thomas Johnson, and Charles Carroll the Barrister, son of the Dr. Charles Carroll who had converted from Catholicism to Anglicanism.[25]

At the same time, the Carroll family's relationship with the Dulanys, formerly the papists' most consistent defenders in the court party, deteriorated rapidly. In 1769 a brother of Daniel Dulany the Younger called the elder Carroll a "Monster of Vice & Profligacy" and his son "a silly little puppy." The latter retaliated with a disclosure of the "humiliating circumstances" of indenture by which the senior Dulany had entered the colony.[26] It was, therefore, as much a family feud as a political maneuver that caused the younger Carroll to enter the lists against Maryland's most gifted writer.

From January until July 1773 the pages of the Annapolis *Gazette* carried "one of the longest and most popular debates in colonial history."[27] Dulany defended the prerogative while Carroll under the pen name of "First Citizen" denounced arbitrary government as destructive of Maryland liberties. Popular opinion gave the victory to Carroll, who had now in the eyes of many established himself as a "flaming Patriot, and red hot Politician." The day after the debate ended, the lower house unanimously declared the governor's proclamation invalid and marched as a body to the Carroll mansion to thank the "First Citizen" in person.[28]

In the course of the debate Dulany had raised the question of Carroll's religion in a desperate attempt to bring anti-popery into play. "To what purpose was the threat thrown out," Carroll retorted, "of enforcing the penal statutes by proclamation? Why am I told that my conduct is very inconsistent with the situation of one, who 'owes even the *toleration* he enjoys to the favour of the government?'—If by instilling prejudices into the government and by every mean and wicked artifice you can rouse the popular resentment against certain religionists, and thus bring on a persecution of them, it will then be known whether the toleration I enjoy, be due to the favour of the government, or not."[29] Thus did Carroll of Carrollton lay anti-popery to rest for half a century. The wave of anti-Catholic feeling that swept the colonies in the wake of the Quebec Act of 1774 left Maryland untouched.[30] The Tory parson Jonathan Boucher was quick to recognize Carroll's strategy. By his example Carroll, "the Duke of Norfolk of Maryland" as Boucher dubbed him, was

making "good whigs" of his wavering coreligionists. Boucher tried to lure them into the loyalist camp by a sermon "On the Toleration of Papists" he preached in 1774. His efforts were unavailing.[31] Carroll's decision to place the fate of Maryland Catholics in the hands of the Protestant-dominated popular movement was "one of the most significant developments on the road to minority rights, not only in Maryland, but in America generally."[32]

In September 1774 the First Continental Congress met at Philadelphia to take measures against the Coercive Acts that Parliament had passed after the Boston Tea Party. Charles Carroll of Carrollton was asked to accompany the Maryland delegation in an advisory capacity. Upon his return to Maryland, he was elected to the convention that met in Annapolis to carry out the work of the Congress. It was the first time a Catholic had been elected to public office in Maryland since the Protestant rebellion of 1689.

At the December meeting of the convention the members voted enthusiastically that all differences concerning religion "cease and be forever buried in oblivion."[33] On the county committees of observation, created at the behest of the convention, Catholics found a place in significant numbers. In St. Mary's County, one of the first to organize a committee, at least fifteen of seventy-six members were Catholics, and in Prince George's County at least twenty-five of the eighty-five-member committee.[34] In the spring and summer of 1775 Catholics were also elected to the convention that had replaced the assembly as the legislative body of the province.[35] Carroll of Carrollton was chosen by the convention to be a member of the council of safety, now the principal governing body.

The growing acceptance of papists was accompanied by a decided intolerance of Loyalists, which on at least one occasion proved of benefit to Catholics. In Baltimore certain members of a volunteer company of soldiers wished to attend mass on a Sunday. When they learned that the Catholic church had been padlocked by the creditor, the entire company marched to his home and demanded the key. Already accused of being a loyalist, the terrified creditor readily surrendered the key, which after mass was returned to the congregation. St. Peter's Church was reopened probably in 1775, and the debt was soon discharged.[36]

In 1775 the Second Continental Congress raised an army of its own—the resort to arms Carroll had predicted— and soon decided to send it to Canada. The Canadian venture would bring national recognition to two Carrolls of Maryland. One of them was a priest.

John Carroll had spent ten more years in Europe than his cousin Charles, but he was no less devoted to his native land. The fourth child of Daniel Carroll and Eleanor Darnall was born 8 (or 19) January 1736 at Upper Marlboro in Prince George's County. With his cousin Charles he had gone from the Jesuit school at Bohemia to St. Omer's in 1748. On 7 September 1753 he entered the Jesuit novitiate at Watten. Two years later he transferred to the Jesuit College at Liege to study philosophy and theology. There he was ordained a priest on 14 February 1761.[37]

After pronouncing solemn vows of the Society of Jesus in 1771, he began a tour

FIGURE 2. "Crucifix Brought from Rome by Rev. John Carroll." (John Gilmary Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll,* Vol. 2 of *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* [New York: John G. Shea, 1888], p. 368.)

of Europe as tutor for the son of an English peer. Like a moth drawn to a flame, the pair arrived in Rome as the "fatal stroke" was about to be dealt his hapless Society. "What a revolution of ideas," he wrote a Jesuit friend, "do all these proceedings produce in a mind accustomed to regard this city as the seat of Religion. . . ."[38] The suppression made the unhappy Marylander his "own master."[39] After a brief time with the Arundel family in England, he went home.

John Carroll arrived in Maryland 26 June 1774, stopping in Virginia on the way to visit his sisters Ann, who had married Robert Brent, and Eleanor, wife of William Brent. Carroll took up residence with his mother at Rock Creek in what would become Montgomery County. At nearby Forest Glen his brother Daniel had an estate where he built a chapel for John and called it St. John's. It would, in effect, be his parish for twelve years.[40]

Carroll had hardly settled into the routine of a country pastor when he received the invitation. The Continental Congress had decided to send a commission to persuade the French-speaking Canadians to join the English-speaking patriots. To the commission it appointed two of its own members, Benjamin Franklin and Samuel Chase, and a non-member, Charles Carroll of Carrollton. In February Charles Lee of Virginia wrote to John Hancock of Massachusetts: "I should think that if some Jesuit or Religeuse of any other Order (but he must be a man of liberal sentiments, enlarged mind and a manifest friend of Civil Liberty) could be found out and sent to Canada, he would be worth battalions to us. . . . Mr. Carroll has a relative who exactly answers this description."[41]

John Carroll was not overjoyed at the unexpected honor. In what was apparently the draft of his response to Congress, he cautioned that he was poorly qualified for such a mission, "and I have observed that when the ministers of Religion leave the duties of their profession to take a busy part in political matters, they generally fall

into contempt; & sometimes even bring discredit to the cause, in whose service they are engaged." Carroll also suggested that neutrality might be the better course for the Canadians, since they had not "the same motives for taking up arms against England, which render the resistance of the other colonies so justifiable."[42]

Nevertheless, Carroll made the long and thankless journey to Montreal in the spring of 1776. After two weeks of being snubbed by the local clergy, he seized the opportunity to accompany the ailing Dr. Franklin home. The venerable statesman never forgot the kindness and attention of the priest. From New York Carroll wrote to his cousin and to Chase that "as Governments are to be formed in the different Provinces, I wish you could both be spared in Maryland at this critical time."[43]

While John Carroll returned to the quiet of Rock Creek, Charles Carroll of Carrollton hurried to Annapolis to propel the newly elected convention toward independence. On 4 July 1776, the day Congress declared independence, he was named a member of the Maryland delegation to Congress, the first Catholic to hold continental office. He arrived in Philadelphia and signed the Declaration on 2 August. He then returned to Annapolis to help draft a state constitution.

Carroll of Carrollton played a conspicuous role in forging the most conservative of the new state constitutions, one designed "to insure the continuance of elitist rule."[44] The narrow restrictions of the colonial era on voting were largely retained and property qualifications placed so high as to preclude the majority of Marylanders from public office. Carroll was particularly active in creating an upper house, or senate, that would serve to check the radical tendencies of the popularly elected House of Delegates. A minority faction mostly from the northern and western counties fought to make the constitution more democratic but failed to make headway against the conservative majority. The few Catholic delegates voted with the latter.[45]

In one respect, however, the Maryland constitution represented a giant step forward. There were no religious restrictions for voting or holding office. Of special significance to Maryland Catholics was Article 34 of the prefatory Declaration of Rights: "That, as it is the duty of every man to worship God in such a manner as he thinks most acceptable to him; all persons, professing the Christian religion, are equally entitled to protection of their religious liberty . . . , nor ought any person to be compelled to frequent or maintain, or contribute, unless under contract, to maintain any particular place of worship, any particular ministry. . . ."[46] George and Cecil Calvert could not have said it better.

When the first state assembly met in February 1777, Charles Carroll of Carrollton took his seat as one of the fifteen senators. His father was elected to the council of state, a gracious gesture that fulfilled the dream of a lifetime. A few days later the aging squire declined. Daniel Carroll, brother of John Carroll, was elected in his place. Four years later Daniel would join his cousin in the senate and at the same time be chosen to represent Maryland in the Congress of the Confederation.[47] Catholics elected to the early House of Delegates were Athanasius Ford, Edmund Plowden, and Nicholas Lewis Sewall of St. Mary's County and Thomas Semmes and John Digges of Charles County.[48]

A large number of Catholics from St. Mary's and Charles counties enrolled in the

battalion of Colonel William Smallwood, which General George Washington praised for its valiant stand at Brooklyn Heights and prized throughout the war as one of the best units of the Maryland Line. In the state militia several Catholics served as field officers, others achieving lesser rank.[49] Pennsylvania also contributed its Catholic statesmen and soldiers, most notably Stephen Moylan, John Barry, and Thomas Fitzsimons. Catholic participation in the American Revolution was conspicuous enough to make an impression and cause a shift in sentiment with regard to the Church of Rome. The French alliance of 1778 and the decisive aid of France thereafter helped to eradicate all but the most obdurate of the lingering prejudices of the colonial era.[50]

The war had broken ecclesiastical as well as political ties with the Old World. John Carroll refused to recognize even Father John Lewis's authority as vicar general of the vicar apostolic in London. As the war drew to a close, however, he became increasingly concerned about the future prospects of the orphaned band of former Jesuits in America. Early in 1782 he wrote to Charles Plowden, a close friend and a former Jesuit in England: "The clergymen here continue to live in the old form: it is the effect of habit." Carroll bemoaned the "ignorance, indolence, delusion (you remember certain prophesies of reestablishment) and above all the irresolution of Mr. Lewis" that prevented any form of administration from being adopted "which might tend to secure to posterity a succession of Catholick Clergymen, and secure to these a comfortable subsistence."[51]

Carroll himself took the initiative by drawing up a tentative plan of organization. He and five other priests in Maryland finally met at White Marsh on June 27, 1783, to enlarge upon his plan. The Maryland and Pennsylvania missions were divided into northern, middle, and southern districts, and on 6 November representatives from each assembled again at White Marsh to work out the details of a constitution for the Catholic clergy in Maryland. The legislative or policy-making power was lodged in a chapter composed of two delegates from each of the three districts. Spiritual matters remained in the hands of the superior, Father John Lewis, but temporalities were entrusted to a procurator general, Father John Ashton. The constitution also provided for complete equality in terms of status, benefits, and responsibilities.[52] To his friend Plowden, Carroll explained: "We are endeavouring to establish some regulations tending to perpetuate a succession of labourers in this vineyard, and to preserve their morals, to prevent idleness, & secure an equitable & frugal administration of our temporals."[53] Another but unspoken reason for the organization was the desire to keep the former Jesuit estates intact until such time as the Society might be restored.

In the eyes of the ex-Jesuits in America the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide in Rome charged with the superintendence of all missionary lands posed the greatest threat to their properties. Alluding to information Plowden had volunteered concerning the designs of the Propaganda, Carroll stated emphatically: "For they may be assured, that they will never get possession of a six-pence of our property here, & if any of our friends could be weak enough to deliver any real estate into their hands, or attempt to subject it to their authority, our civil government would be called upon to wrest it again out of their dominion. A foreign temporal jurisdiction will never be tolerated here."[54]

At the second meeting of the clergy in November—not long after the Treaty of Paris had accorded international recognition to the United States as a sovereign nation—the five members present drafted an address to the pope requesting that their superior, Father Lewis, be granted the power to impart faculties to new priests, to administer the sacrament of confirmation, and to bless oils, chalices, and altar stones. The authors explained that it was no longer possible to have recourse to a bishop or vicar apostolic under a foreign power without giving offense to the civil government of America.[55] Carroll set forth the rationale for such a request with greater force in what was apparently the covering letter to a curial official in Rome. "You are not ignorant," he wrote, "that in these United States our Religious system has undergone a revolution, if possible, more extraordinary, than our political one." In all of the states toleration had been granted to Christians of every denomination. In Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia "a communication of all civil rights, without distinction or diminution, is extended to those of our Religion. This is a blessing and advantage, which is our duty to preserve & improve with the utmost prudence, by demeaning ourselves on all occasions as subjects zealously attached to our government & avoiding to give any jealousies on account of our dependence on foreign jurisdictions, more than that, which is essential to our Religion, an acknowledgement of the Pope's spiritual Supremacy over the whole Christian world."[56]

When Carroll learned that the Propaganda had made overtures to the Confederation Congress on the propriety of establishing a vicar apostolic in America, he wrote his strongest animadversion on the Sacred Congregation. "But this you may be assured of," he told Plowden, "that no authority derived from the Propag[an]da will ever be admitted here; that the Catholick Clergy & Laity here know that the only connexion they ought to have with Rome is to acknowledge the pope as the Spir[itua]l head of the Church; that no Congregations existing in his states shall be allowed to exercise any share of his Spir[itua]l authority here; and that no Bishop Vicar Apostolical shall be admitted; and if we are to have a Bishop, he shall not be *in partibus* (a refined political Roman contrivance), but an ordinary national Bishop, in whose appointment Rome shall have no share: so that we are very easy about their machinations."[57]

Carroll was perturbed that the Propaganda had proceeded without consulting the American clergy. The initial steps for the establishment of the Catholic Church in the United States, however, were taken on both sides of the Atlantic simultaneously by two bodies acting independently. While the former Jesuits in America were assuming the responsibility for organizing and regulating clerical personnel and church properties, the Congregation of the Propaganda in Rome was following the time-honored channels of papal diplomacy. As early as January 1783 Cardinal Leonardo Antonelli, prefect of the Propaganda, instructed the papal nuncio at Versailles to work through the court of France to sound out the American ministers there on the feasibility of a vicar apostolic for the United States.[58] The French minister of foreign affairs put the nuncio in contact with Benjamin Franklin, one of the three American diplomats on the scene. Though Franklin assured the prelate that the Propaganda was free to do whatever it pleased, the nuncio asked the eminent doctor to seek the approval of Congress for a vicar apostolic who might or

might not be an American.[59] Congress instructed Franklin to notify the nuncio "that Congress will always be pleased to testify their respect to his sovereign and state; but that the subject of his application to Dr. Franklin being purely spiritual, is without the jurisdiction and the powers of Congress, who have no authority to permit or refuse it."[60] It was a response that left the Roman authorities befuddled. Their diplomacy had no ready answers for this strange new doctrine. Apparently they would have to deal directly with the American clergy.

Still eager to satisfy the American government, however, the Propaganda bestowed powers sought by the American clergy not on John Lewis, whose age, the cardinal prefect explained, entitled him to repose, but on John Carroll. The latter had not only given "conspicuous proofs of piety and zeal" but more importantly, perhaps, his appointment would "please and gratify many members of the Republic, and especially Mr. Franklin." All this the cardinal told Carroll in a letter of 9 June 1784, wherein he was named "Superior of the Mission in the thirteen United States."[61]

On 11 October, after Carroll had received word of his appointment but before the official documents arrived, the first General Chapter of the clergy was convened at White Marsh. The constitution drawn up the year before was approved unanimously and declared binding on all priests then in Maryland and Pennsylvania. The delegates agreed, in effect, that Carroll should accept the appointment as superior, and a committee was formed to draft a representation to Rome stating that a bishop would not be needed in the foreseeable future.[62]

Upon receipt of the letter of appointment, Carroll sent a circular to the clergy. "The faculties, I have received," he declared, "are much too confined for the exigencies of this Country; and there are moreover some circumstances in the granting of them which require the maturest consideration." They came not from the pope but from the Propaganda Fide and were granted during its pleasure only. The American priests were considered missionaries, and the Propaganda would allow no priests into the country except those it approved. It was, moreover, the Propaganda's intention eventually to appoint a vicar apostolic. Believing unanimity essential at this point, Carroll asked the chapter's approval for his intended response. First, it could produce "the most dangerous jealousy" to continue to accept appointments from the Propaganda. Second, the priests in the United States considered themselves as a national clergy, not missionaries, and therefore competent to choose their own ecclesiastical superior. Third, though a bishop would be needed when a seminary was established, he should be a diocesan bishop chosen by the clergy itself, as was the practice with the Protestant Episcopal Church in America.[63]

When some of the priests recommended modifications, Carroll wrote a response that was more moderate, even deferential. Priests and laity, Carroll told Antonelli, were "so grounded in the faith, that they could never be swayed from the obedience due the Supreme Pontiff. Those same people, nevertheless, think the Holy Father ought to grant them some freedom which is clearly necessary for the preserving of the common law which they now enjoy, or for the repelling of the dangers which

they fear." American Catholics wanted to give their enemies no grounds to charge that they were dependent on a foreign power. Yet the "spiritual jurisdiction" of the Holy See should in some way be acknowledged. "Many outstanding Catholics were of a mind to point this out to His Holiness in a common letter, especially those men who either have a place in the American general council (which they call a Congress), or who are influential in the legislative councils in Pennsylvania and Maryland. However, I persuaded them to commit this message to the present letter." When the time came to appoint a bishop, Carroll asked simply, should he be a vicar apostolic or an ordinary with his own see? Which could serve better to obviate harm over foreign jurisdictions? And so far as choosing a candidate, Carroll advised, if it did not seem proper for the American clergy to propose its own, let the Holy See "at least decide upon some way of nominating a bishop by which offense to our people both Catholic as well as sectarian may be averted."[64]

To this letter Carroll appended a report, which the cardinal prefect had requested, on the state of the Catholic church in the United States. He claimed about 15,800 Catholics in Maryland, 3,000 of whom were children and about the same number of slaves of all ages. Pennsylvania counted at least 7,000 Catholics and Virginia not more than 200. Others were scattered throughout the country, perhaps as many as 1,500 in the state of New York, but they were destitute of all religious services. There was also an unknown number of French-speaking Catholics in the West.[65]

The Catholics of Maryland and Pennsylvania, Carroll continued, were mostly farmers. Though observant in the practice of their religion, they were not overly fervent because of the impossibility of attending mass more than once a month. Hardly any of the Catholics among the immigrants observed their religious duties. Nineteen priests served in Maryland and five in Pennsylvania. Two were over seventy, however, and three nearly so. The priests were supported by the revenues of their farms or by the generosity of Catholics. These farms were held by the priests as private individuals, a practice dictated by the former penal laws, "nor have we thus far found a remedy for this inconvenience although during the past year we have tried hard to do so." This was Carroll's only allusion to the General Chapter of the Catholic Clergy and its work. He ended his report with a request for broader powers in the matter of marriage dispensations and the time of saying mass.[66]

Nine months later Carroll received Antonelli's response. The cardinal prefect expressed general satisfaction at the state of "orthodox Religion" in America. Though it was still the Propaganda's intention to establish a vicar apostolic in the United States, the congregation would, as Carroll suggested, allow the "missionaries" there to recommend a candidate when in Carroll's opinion the time was ripe. The broader powers requested were readily granted. More importantly, Carroll was now allowed to impart faculties directly to any priest he considered suitable.[67] Though the response was not all that Carroll would have liked, it served to allay much of the suspicion and antipathy he had entertained toward the Propaganda. When he next wrote the cardinal prefect, he felt free to disclose the clergy's plan to form a corporate body under the law in order to secure greater protection for its properties.[68]

By the end of 1785 Carroll was also less fretful about the attitudes of the civil authorities and of non-Catholics in general. Shortly before his appointment as superior of the American mission, however, a work published in Philadelphia so upset him that he felt compelled to make what would be his only major contribution as an apologist. The first attack on the Catholic church published in America after independence was the work of a cousin and a former Jesuit: Charles Henry Wharton.[69] Wharton had served the Catholics of Worcester in England a number of years after the suppression of the Society. When he returned to Maryland in 1783 Carroll received him warmly, unaware that he had already renounced the Catholic faith. By way of explaining his conversion to the Protestant Episcopal church, Wharton published in the spring of 1784 his *Letter to the Roman Catholics of the City of Worcester,* in which he argued that the Catholic church was repressive and, by implication, alien to liberty-loving Americans. The *Letter* begged an answer, and Carroll spent the greater part of the summer of 1784 in the libraries of Annapolis composing his *Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States.*[70]

In meticulous and scholarly fashion Carroll focused principally on Wharton's interpretation of the Catholic teaching of no salvation outside the church, rejection of the Catholic claim to infallibility, and disavowal of the doctrine of transubstantiation as unhistorical. Not even the hope of vindicating the faith, Carroll concluded, could have induced him to engage in controversy "if I could fear that it would disturb the harmony now subsisting amongst all christians in this country, so blessed with civil and religious liberty; which if we have the wisdom and temper to preserve, America may come to exhibit a proof to the world, that general and equal toleration, by giving a free circulation to fair argument, is the most effectual method to bring all denominations to an unity of faith."[71]

In the course of researching his *Address,* Carroll was much taken by Joseph Berington's *State and Behavior of the English Catholics from the Reformation to the Year 1780* and he paused to send the English priest a letter of congratulations. "You have expressed on the Subject of Toleration those Sentiments, w[hi]ch I have long wished to see come strongly recommended from eminent writers of our Religion," Carroll explained, "a reasonable system of universal Forbearance, and Charity amongst Christians of every Denomination." Carroll urged Berington to pursue two subjects: "the Extent and Boundaries of the Spiritual Jurisdiction of the Holy See" and the use of Latin in the liturgy. "I consider these two points as the great Obstacles, with Christians of other Denominations, to a thorough union with us . . . particularly in N. America." The use of the vernacular, Carroll believed, "ought not only to be sollicited, but *insisted on.*"[72]

"Certainly were I circumstanced as you in America seem to be," Berington belatedly replied, "I would shut my eyes on the 14 last centuries, and only consider what was the prerogative of the See of Rome during the Apostolic ages and the years immediately succeeding to them. All that is *essential* then existed; the rest is abuse and usurpation. You will persevere also, I flatter myself, in the warm wishes you express of having the public service in the language of the people."[73] Berington also sent Carroll a rebuttal he had published to a work by one of Wharton's defenders in England, where the controversy had aroused even greater interest than in America.[74] Carroll wrote Berington that some had wished the rebuttal published

also in the States, but Carroll was reluctant to renew the debate. "Thank God! the remembrance of the Controversy has now died away, and I see no Symptoms remaining of an intolerant Spirit." He also told the English priest that he had heard that his rebuttal had not escaped censure in Catholic circles, but he himself had found only one questionable passage concerning the prerogative of the pope. Carroll urged Berington to encourage friends in England to support his own efforts to obtain an ordinary bishop for America and expressed astonishment that the vicars apostolic of England "did not exert themselves to obtain a more independent Appointment and Jurisdiction."[75]

In his rebuttal Berington had cited Carroll's views on the use of the vernacular, and Carroll assured the priest: "I remain equally persuaded of the Expediency of using the vulgar Tongue in the public Offices of religion."[76] A short time later, however, he learned from a London bookseller that a number of priests there not only espoused his views on the use of the vernacular but even the abandonment of clerical celibacy. "Is it really true," he asked Plowden, "that any are so bold, as to avow the latter sentiment; or even assert, that any single Bishop may alter the language of the liturgy, without the approbation of the Holy See, & a general concurrence of at least other national Bishops? I should be indeed sorry, if the few words of my letter to Berington should be tortured to such a meaning."[77] Archbishop John Thomas Troy of Dublin wrote Carroll that the question of the vernacular was also being agitated in Ireland and he had written a pastoral letter against it.[78] Thereafter Carroll gave no public encouragement to the advocates of a vernacular liturgy. In time he came to consider Berington thoroughly unsound in his views.

At the same time, Carroll remained unflagging in his advocacy of religious liberty and separation of church and state in America. As he strove to establish acceptable ties with the Holy See, he also sought a secure place for the nascent church in the new nation, beginning in his own state. In Maryland the religious landscape had changed dramatically. The Established Church of colonial times had become the Protestant Episcopal church but was losing ground rapidly to the Methodists and other Protestant bodies. Maryland was struggling fitfully to accept religious pluralism, and its statesmen were wrestling with the problem of adjusting the Maryland constitution to these new realities.[79] It was a process from which Carroll could not remain aloof.

Carroll's first efforts were directed at rooting out the last vestiges of the penal laws in Maryland. In 1783 he complained to Charles Carroll of Carrollton about a court case decided on an old statute barring Catholics from acting as guardians to Protestants. "As this cause is inconsistent," he argued, "with that perfect equality of rights, which by our [state] Constitution is secured to all Religions, I make no doubt but you will be able to obtain a general repeal of this and all other laws and clauses of laws enacting any partial regards to one denomination to the prejudice of others."[80]

Of even greater concern to Carroll was an attempt on the part of the Maryland assembly at the end of the November 1784 session to lay a general tax for the support of ministers of all denominations. The Maryland Declaration of Rights of 1776 left the door open to such a tax.[81] The ground was carefully laid in the House

of Delegates with a resolution stating "that the happiness of the people, good order, and preservation of civil government, depend upon morality, religion and piety, and that these cannot be generally diffused throughout the community but by the public worship of Almighty God." When this resolution passed 45 to 5, another, by a narrower margin, expressed the view that it was incumbent upon the lower house to pass a law "for the support and encouragement of the Christian religion." A third resolution agreed that a general tax for the support of religion in no way would violate the state constitution. Friends of the general tax prepared and presented such a bill, but it failed at the second reading, 18 to 27.[82] Most Catholic delegates opposed the resolutions and bill alike, but no unanimity existed.[83] Delegates finally agreed that copies of the bill should be circulated in the counties in order to determine the reaction of the people before the next session.

"We of this state are now engaged in a warm controversy," Carroll reported to Plowden, "and I wish it may not tend to revive some animosities, which I hoped, were buried forever." The lower house had proposed a bill, Carroll explained, whereby each person would be obliged to support the church of his choice. "Were the law truly formed upon the principles of the Constitution, we R[oman] C[atholics] should have no very great objection to it: but from certain clauses in it, and other circumstances, we, as well as the Presbyterians, Methodists, Quakers and Anabaptists are induced to believe, that it is calculated to create predominant and irresistible influence in favour of the Protestant Episcopal Church . . . and therefore we shall all oppose it with might and main. We have all smarted heretofore under the lash of an established church and shall therefore be on our guard against every approach toward it."[84]

There can be little doubt that Catholic opinion weighed heavily in the final outcome of the tax bill. When the assembly reconvened in November 1785, the House of Delegates proceeded at once to pass a resolution that any law imposing a general tax for the support of ministers of the gospel would be "unnecessary and impolitic, and that instead of promoting the cause of religion, it would be an injury thereto."[85] Thus did Maryland resolve the problem of church and state in the same manner and at the same time as Virginia, whose legislature went on in 1785 to frame the famous Bill of Religious Freedom.[86]

The following year, however, Carroll informed Cardinal Antonelli that a move was afoot to tax properties of the Catholic clergy in Maryland, the proponents of the measure arguing that Catholic priests should be supported by voluntary contributions as were ministers of other denominations. "As soon as the laws of England were abrogated," Carroll explained, "freedom of religion was established, and we sought in every way to form a corporate body and to hold property in common. . . . So far we have made no progress because of the prejudice against the acquisition of property by ecclesiastics, or as they say, by mortmain."[87]

To Carroll and his former Jesuit associates legal incorporation seemed the most effective means of protecting church properties. The New York legislature had passed a general incorporation act for religious bodies as early as 1784, and Carroll hoped that the Maryland legislature might be induced to do the same.[88] So strong was the fear of the accumulation of church property in Maryland, however—a fear rooted in Cecil Calvert's struggle with the Jesuits—that undet the Maryland con-

stitution of 1776 no particular religious congregation could hold or accept more than two acres of land without the consent of the assembly. At the General Chapter of the Catholic Clergy in November 1786 the representatives deliberated whether it would be "safe and expedient" to apply to the legislature for an act of incorporation. A committee formed to consider the move, but it would take three years to report.[89]

In the meantime Carroll had more pressing problems as the superior of the American mission. Soon after he received the official notification of his appointment, he began a systematic visitation of those parts of the country where Catholics were most numerous. In the spring and summer of 1785 he toured Maryland and Virginia, where the sacrament of confirmation was administered for the first time. At St. Inigoes on July 13 he also laid his first cornerstone for a church. In September he proceeded to Pennsylvania, where he was gratified by reports on the condition of the congregations there.

When in November he reached the city of New York, however, he encountered the first of many crises that would bedevil his administration. A Catholic congregation, mostly Irish, had sprung up around the Spanish consulate, and Carroll had granted faculties to an Irish Capuchin, Charles Maurice Whelan, to serve it despite the restrictions then imposed by the Propaganda.[90] Some of the city's leading Catholics had taken advantage of the act of incorporation of 1784 to form a board of trustees for the purpose of building a church. When Carroll reached New York, they expressed their dissatisfaction with Whelan and asked Carroll to replace him with another Capuchin, Andrew Nugent, who had recently arrived. Carroll told them that he had as yet no power to do so. Scarcely had he returned home, when he learned that a struggle for control had developed between the Whelan and Nugent factions. Against the claim of the Nugent faction that the congregation had the right to choose and to dismiss its own pastor, Carroll contended: "If ever the principles there laid down should become predominant, the unity and Catholicity of our Church would be at an end."[91] When Whelan left the city in disgust, Carroll decided to make the best of a bad situation by granting provisional faculties to Nugent. "I know and respect the legal right of the Cong[regatio]n," Carroll told the priest. "It is as repugnant to my duty and wish, as it exceeds my power to compel them to accept & support a Clergyman, who is disagreeable to them."[92]

Before the "cramping clause" concerning faculties was removed by the Propaganda, Carroll also felt constrained to grant provisional faculties to a German Carmelite, Paul de St. Pierre, who in 1784 had wandered west and wintered in Kentucky. There he found a small number of Catholics, including Carroll's own cousin, destitute of the sacraments.[93] To the newly ordained Francis Neale at Liege Carroll wrote glowingly of the opportunities to spread the faith in the West. "Thousands of Roman Catholics are rushing to remove thither, and nothing witholds them but the dread of wanting the ministration of religion."[94]

As early as 1767 Catholics in St. Mary's County, impoverished by soil exhaustion and overpopulation, had investigated the possibility of settling in the Louisiana Territory.[95] Only in 1783, when the Treaty of Paris confirmed the new nation in its possession of the transappalachian west, did large-scale migration become practicable. Some sixty Catholic families in southern Maryland pledged themselves to

settle together in Kentucky. In the fall of 1785 the first of many groups made the long trek across the mountains. In 1787 Carroll finally persuaded Charles Whelan, the Capuchin, to go serve these transplanted Marylanders.[96]

The need for priests was a constant preoccupation with Carroll. Three former but still active Jesuits died in 1786 alone. A small number of Marylanders were studying at the seminary conducted by ex-Jesuits at Liege. After a fleeting hesitancy Carroll accepted Cardinal Antonelli's offer of 1784 to prepare two American boys for the priesthood at the Urban College of the Propaganda. But these were hardly enough to fill the depleted ranks and meet the future needs of the burgeoning American mission. The number of priests from Ireland, Germany, and France who came to America unannounced and uninvited was not small, but Carroll was reluctant to employ these "missionary adventurers." In the end he usually did if their credentials were in order.

A seminary that would supply a steady number of dependable priests therefore headed Carroll's list of needs. But this could not be realized until there was a sufficient number of young Catholics instructed in the classics, a prerequisite for theological studies. Originally Carroll hoped that the two colleges being founded in Maryland plus the Philadelphia Academy would fill this need. By 1786 he was convinced that only a Catholic college could produce vocations to the priesthood and "give consistency to our religious views in this country."[97] The second General Chapter of the Catholic Clergy, which met 13–24 November 1786, devoted more time to the question of a college than any other. A detailed plan was drawn up and approved by the majority of delegates. A general subscription would be opened at once and prominent people chosen to solicit donors at home and abroad. The chapter itself would contribute £100 to purchase a site in the city of Georgetown on the Potomac. A board of directors was chosen: Fathers John Carroll, James

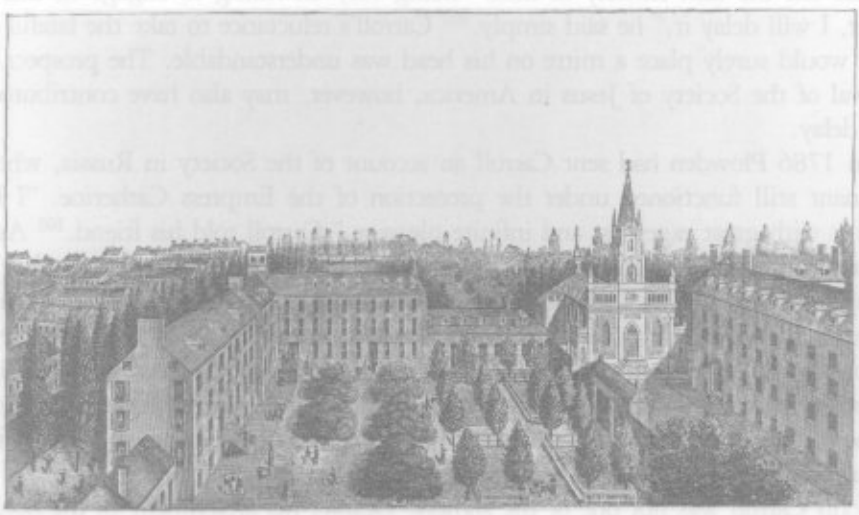

FIGURE 3. The Sulpicians founded St. Mary's Seminary in 1791. The one-and-one-half-story building at right, the One Mile Inn, housed the first chapel. The majority of this complex was demolished in 1974. The 1808 chapel still stands, although the steeple has been removed. (John Gilmary Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll,* Vol. 2 of *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* [New York: John G. Shea, 1888], p. 381.)

Pellentz, Robert Molyneaux, John Ashton, and Leonard Neale.[98] Hoping to see the school opened in the fall of 1787 or the following spring at the latest, Carroll asked Plowden's help in recruiting a president abroad and in choosing appropriate textbooks.[99]

Opposition to the project arose among Carroll's own confreres, especially the priests of the southern district. The latter feared that it would place an unbearable burden on the former Jesuit estates, which they wished to preserve intact until the restoration of the Society. The opposition quickly dissolved in the face of persuasive briefs drawn by the supporters of the college, which incorporated Carroll's own opinion that "the Society was instituted to save souls and that souls were not made subservient to the temporal benefits of the Society."[100] Less serious obstacles to the rapid advancement of the project would not be so easily overcome.

Opposition also arose, and largely for the same reasons, to another decision taken at the second General Chapter. The delegates agreed that the time had come to request a bishop for the Catholic Church in the United States. The chapter resolved: "That the form of spiritual government to which alone they [the clergy] do submit shall be properly episcopal, depending only on the Holy See as its undoubted prerogative." Only a diocesan bishop, therefore, and one chosen by the clergy itself, would meet such expectations. Carroll, Molyneux, and Ashton were appointed to draw up a petition to the pope.[101]

Though Carroll and most of the clergy were now convinced that only episcopal authority could deal effectively with the manifold problems of the nascent church, more than a year and three months would elapse before the petition was sent. To a priest in New York Carroll later explained that the two others picked to draft the appeal left the task entirely to him. "Being very unwilling to engage in this last affair, I will delay it," he said simply.[102] Carroll's reluctance to take the fateful step that would surely place a mitre on his head was understandable. The prospect of a revival of the Society of Jesus in America, however, may also have contributed to the delay.

In 1786 Plowden had sent Carroll an account of the Society in Russia, where a remnant still functioned under the protection of the Empress Catherine. "I have read it with great eagerness and infinite pleasure," Carroll told his friend.[103] As the manuscript circulated among the former Jesuits in America, hopes soared at the prospect of a revival by a reunion with their Russian confreres. Of this "they appear to have no doubt, since they read your Russian history," Carroll told Plowden in reporting the opposition to both the college and a bishop.[104] In the spring of 1788 a circular passed among the former Jesuits declaring the "government of the Society to be the only one that can procure us the happiness our hearts are in search after." It urged attendance at a meeting in July to further the design of reunion.[105]

John Carroll was not one of the signers. Despite his attachment to the Society, he realized that such a plan was premature. He requested a postponement of the meeting and sent a letter to the representatives of the southern district urging them to abandon the plan. The concurrence of the pope would be necessary, he told them, and that was not likely. In any case it would be impolitic. How would it

affect the other priests in America, he asked, and "will not the very measure, we are now pursuing for the establishment . . . of a Diocesan Bishop, be deemed an artifice to promote the restoration of the Society, & not calculated for the general service of Religion?" Carroll urged the priests to work toward the revival of the Society gradually.[106] Apparently the meeting was never held.

Other reasons besides the plan of reunion finally induced Carroll to draft the petition for a bishop. In New York the trustees had now turned against Nugent. In October 1787 Carroll went north again to hear their complaints and ended by replacing Nugent with William O'Brien, a Dominican. Nugent refused to yield and launched a tirade against Carroll that prevented his celebrating Sunday mass in the new church. Carroll's reasoned appeal to the people failed to impress the Nugent followers, who subjected him to public humiliation again the following Sunday. Reluctantly Carroll advised the trustees to have recourse to the civil courts to remove the troublemakers.[107]

A smoldering discontent in Philadelphia also threatened to erupt into open rebellion. German Catholics there complained of favoritism to the Irish at St. Mary's Church and begged Carroll to give charge of the church to one of two German Capuchins who had come to Philadelphia in the fall at their invitation. When Carroll refused, the Germans purchased land to build a church of their own. With misgivings Carroll gave his permission for the undertaking but told the new congregation: "As you undertake to raise your church at your own charge, and with your own industry, it is probable you may have it in view to reserve to yourselves the appointment of the clergymen, even without the concurrence of the Ecclesiastical Superior. On this matter I wish to hear from you."[108] Carroll gave them the pastor they wanted but without conceding their right to choose him.

In the petition to Pope Pius VI, dated 12 March 1788 and signed by Carroll, Molyneux, and Ashton, only the episode in New York was cited as reason for stronger ecclesiastical authority. The petitioners begged the pope to establish a diocese that would be immediately under the Holy See and to leave the choice of its bishop, "at least in this first instance," to the clergy.[109]

Carroll's search for stability was reflected in the political and social life of the nation as a whole. The Articles of Confederation that the thirteen states had adopted in 1781 proved only a stopgap in the process of revolution. Later the deficiencies of the Articles became painfully apparent—at least to men of property. Demands for a stronger federal government mounted as debtor discontent and pleas for paper money swept the states in the years 1785–1787.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek were outspoken federalists, as the proponents of strong government were called. Charles, who had seen a quarter of his father's fortune wiped away by a Maryland paper-money bill in 1777, led the fight against another such bill in 1786. In 1787 Daniel went to Philadelphia to draft a new constitution. Both were in the thick of the heated contest over its ratification in Maryland. When in the spring of 1789 the new government under the Constitution was launched in New York, Charles Carroll was there as one of Maryland's two senators and Daniel Carroll as one of its six representatives.[110]

The Catholic gentry of Maryland was predictably federalist, but Catholics of

lower station were not easily classified. In its vote for the first Congress, St. Mary's County was overwhelmingly federalist. In its poll for the second, with nearly four times as many citizens voting, the antifederalists made a strong showing with Catholic names well represented.[111] There was not the same readiness as earlier to acknowledge the leadership of the gentry. In what was apparently a protest against the exclusive character of the Maryland constitution, the voters of St. Mary's County in 1785 elected a Catholic, Robert Abell, as sheriff despite his inability to meet the property qualification of a £1,000 estate.[112] Catholics were undoubtedly involved in the debtor riots of Charles County in 1786.[113] Ignatius Wheeler of Harford County, reflecting the antifederalist sentiment of northern and western Maryland, consistently opposed federalist measures sponsored or supported by other Catholics in the Assembly.[114]

Though John Carroll shared the federalist bent of his brother, he differed in his principal concerns. Having labored to extirpate the remnants of the penal laws in Maryland, he now devoted his literary talents to the eradication of anti-Catholic laws throughout the country. In January 1789 he wrote Matthew Carey, a Catholic publisher in Philadelphia: "I must take this occasion to thank you sincerely for some very pertinent observations interspersed in your [magazine], on the illiberal treatment of R. Catholics in some, indeed in most of the United States." It was a "flagrant act of injustice," Carroll claimed, to deny Catholics the equality for which they had fought so hard in the Revolution. He had expressed this opinion, he told Carey, in a letter to the *Columbian* of Philadelphia some eighteen months before eventually published with "unjustifiable retrenchments."[115]

In the spring Carroll read a letter in the New York *Gazette* exalting Protestantism as the "bulwark of our Constitution." To the editor he sent a testy rebuttal. It was "from an earnest regard to preserve inviolate for ever, in our new empire, the great principle of religious freedom" that he wrote, Carroll insisted. "The constitutions of some of the States continue still to intrench on the sacred rights of conscience; and men who have bled, and opened their purses as freely in the cause of liberty and independence, as any other citizens, are most unjustly excluded from the advantages which they contributed to establish." He signed the essay "Pacificus."[116] "This unjust exclusion," Carroll confided to Plowden, "has always hurt my feelings." He had "thrown something on the subject" into a recent address to the president of the United States. If he should in his answer take notice of that part of the address, Carroll said hopefully, "it will go far towards bringing those states, in which the exclusion prevails, to a repeal of it."[117]

Following the example of the other groups, "the Roman Catholics of the United States" had sent a letter of congratulations to President Washington. Under his administration, the address stated, it was hoped that Catholics would obtain those "rights rendered more dear to us by the remembrance of former hardships" and would see "the full extension of them from the justice of those States, which still restrict them."[118] In his allusion to this part of the address Washington observed: "As Mankind becomes more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that all those who conduct themselves worthy members of the Community, are equally entitled to the protection of Civil Government."[119] It was hardly the commitment Carroll would have liked, but he had made his point.

In Maryland itself the former Jesuits were deceived in their expectation that fear of mortmain had abated sufficiently to permit legal incorporation. In December 1788 the state senate passed a general act of incorporation that specifically exempted the former Jesuit estates from the two-acre limitation of the Declaration of Rights. The House of Delegates rejected the bill on the grounds that there was not enough time to consider it.[120] The question of the Jesuit lands probably delayed a general incorporation act for religious bodies another fourteen years in Maryland.

The question of an American bishop, however, was settled decisively in 1789. In February Carroll received a letter from Cardinal Antonelli telling him that the Holy Father had responded favorably to the earlier petition to the pope for a bishop. Carroll was instructed to consult the clergy to determine where the see should be located and whether it should have an ordinary or titular bishop. The clergy could then proceed to an election.[121]

Baltimore, where Carroll had taken up residence in 1786, was the unanimous choice for a site, "this being the principal town of Maryland," Carroll explained, "& that State being the oldest & still the most numerous residence of true Religion in America."[122] Quite naturally, the preference was for a bishop with ordinary jurisdiction. The votes were collected in each of the districts and carried to White Marsh, where on May 11 the third General Chapter of the Catholic Clergy convened. "We then proceeded to the Election," Carroll told Plowden, "the event of which such as deprives me of all expectation of rest or pleasure henceforward, and fills me with terror, with respect to eternity."[123] To Carroll went 22 of the 24 votes.[124]

The election did not bring an end to the problems that beset the American

FIGURE 4. Most Rev. John Carroll (1735–1815), engraving by L. Hollyer. (John Gilmary Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, Vol. 2 of *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* [New York: John G. Shea, 1888], facing p. 208.)

superior. The growing number of priests from abroad continued to be the principal source of Carroll's troubles on the eve of his episcopal ordination. In 1788 he had granted faculties to three of them in order to provide for the small Catholic congregations in Norfolk, Charleston, and Boston. The one assigned to Norfolk soon wandered off, and the one at Boston behaved so outrageously that Carroll had to suspend him. Carroll was also obliged to suspend the German Capuchin in Philadelphia for persisting in his claim that the German congregation there had the exclusive right to choose its pastor, namely himself.[125] But the only one of the newcomers who suceeded in shattering Carroll's remarkable forbearance was the Reverend Patrick Smyth.

Smyth had come from Ireland in 1787 and accepted a post in Frederick, Maryland. He returned to Ireland the following year and published *The Present State of the Catholic Missions Conducted by the Ex-Jesuits in North America.* His principal charge, that the ex-Jesuits jealously guarded their landed estates and looked upon all other priests as intruders, was not entirely groundless, but his depiction of them as greedy, indolent, pleasure-seeking, cruel, and incompetent was more than Carroll could bear. When he acquired a copy of Smyth's work in 1789, he immediately began a refutation.[126] Archbishop Troy of Dublin, however, advised Carroll to take no notice of the work, which had already been censured by bishops in Ireland.[127]

"You see, what fine encouragement I have," Carroll lamented to Plowden, "with the Nugents, & Smiths [*sic*] & Roans from Ireland: and these latter French men—O poor Jesuits! when shall we have you again."[128] Carroll saw no end to the troubles from "the medley of clerical characters coming from different quarters." Whenever they became involved in disturbances, "they proceed to bring in Jesuitism," Carroll complained, "& to suggest, that everything is calculated by me for its restoration."[129] The most recent to make this charge was the priest Carroll had suspended in Boston.[130] While, on the one hand, Carroll was accused of plotting the revival of the Society in America, on the other, he was thought by some of his own former Jesuit associates to be "too irresolute or indifferent" in the matter.[131]

Eventually the attacks of the clerical malcontents would make their way to Rome, and Carroll would be informed of Cardinal Antonelli's "being haunted with fears of the revival of the Society in America." To Plowden, he would confide: "I think it providential, that his alarms have been raised since the issuing of the bull for erecting the See of Baltimore. I suspect that otherwise it would have been refused".[132]

The pontifical brief *Ex hac apostolicae* appointing John Carroll bishop of Baltimore and the first Catholic bishop in the United States was issued 6 November 1789.[133] It came to Carroll's hands about five months later. One of its clauses discomfited the former Jesuits, especially Father Ashton, the procurator. Among Carroll's enumerated powers was the right to administer all clerical income. To set the minds of his confreres at ease, Carroll signed a statement that he did not consider himself entitled by the brief "to claim any right of interference in the management of those estates in Maryland & Pennsylvania, which were heretofore applied to the maintenance of the Jesuit missioners."[134]

The question of the Jesuit estates was but one of a number that would require Carroll to balance the interests of many in his search for an equitable and American

FIGURE 5. The Seal of Bishop John Carroll highlighted with the Virgin Mary and the symbols of St. Peter. (John Gilmary Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll,* Vol. 2 of *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* [New York: John G. Shea, 1888], p. 365.)

solution. At age 53, with more than two-thirds of his life behind him, he had been chosen to play the roles of a Moses and a Solomon. Just as awesome, perhaps, was the role he assumed as model for the host of bishops who would follow.

NOTES

1. This is the basic assumption of my forthcoming history of the oldest American Roman Catholic archdiocese (see author's identification, first page of article).

2. This estimate may be a little high. If Catholics maintained a ratio of 1 in 12 or 1 in 13, their number for 1763—when the total population of Maryland was about 175,000—should have been roughly between 13,500 and 14,000. Father George Hunter in a report for 1765 estimated the number of Catholics in Maryland as 10,000 communicants and nearly as many under age or non-communicants. See Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America: Colonial and Federal Documents* (2 parts; New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1908, 1910), 1:337 (hereafter cited Hughes, *Documents*).

3. "An Account of the Conditions of the Catholic Religion in the English Colonies of North America," *Catholic Historical Review,* 6 (1921): 520–24.

4. *Woodstock Letters,* 63 (1934): 213–30; Edward T. Devitt, ed., "Letters of Father Joseph Mosley, S.J., and Some Extracts from His Diary (1757–1786)," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia,* 17 (1906): 180–210, 289–311.

5. Thomas J. Stanton, *A Century of Growth, Or the History of the Church in Western Maryland* (2 vols.; Baltimore: John Murphy and Co., 1900), 2:62–66; Hughes, *Documents,* 1:309–13.

6. John Gilmary Shea, *The History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (4 vols.; New York: John G. Shea, 1886–1892), 2:61–62; *Woodstock Letters,* 60 (1931): 351, 362.

7. Shea, *History,* 2:84; Edwin Warfield Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's*

County, Maryland (Abell, Md.: The Author, 1976), pp. 101, 148–50. A church at St. Joseph's Forest (Morganza) in St. Mary's County was probably already in existence by this time (ibid., pp. 152–53).

8. Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from the Colonial Times to the Present* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1985), pp. 88–89.

9. Hughes, *Documents,* 1:335–37, 351–52.

10. Shea, *History,* 1:435–36. The first mass in Baltimore may have been said in the home of John Digges in the early 1740s by his Jesuit son of the same name. See J. A. Frederick, "The Beginning of Catholicity in Baltimore," Baltimore *Catholic Mirror,* 27 January, 17 February, and 3 March 1906.

11. Hughes, *Documents,* 1:313–14.

12. Shea, *History,* 2:75–76; J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 66.

13. Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore (1735–1815)* (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1922), pp. 151–56.

14. Edwin H. Burton, *The Life and Times of Bishop Challoner (1691–1781)* (2 vols.; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1909), 2:138–44. Opposition also arose in America to Challoner's proprosal in 1770 that the bishop of Quebec visit the English-speaking colonies to administer the sacrament of confirmation (Guilday, *John Carroll,* pp. 157–61).

15. Thomas J. Campbell, *The Jesuits, 1534–1921: A History of the Society of Jesus from Its Foundation to the Present Time* (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1921), chaps. 14–19.

16. John Carroll to [Daniel not Eleanor] Carroll, Bruges, 11 September 1773, in Thomas O'Brien Hanley, ed., *The John Carroll Papers* (3 vols; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 1:32 (hereafter *JCP*).

17. The original form of the submission with signatures, including two Marylanders who returned after the suppression, is reproduced in Hughes, *Documents,* 2:opp. 607.

18. Devitt, "Letters of Father Mosley," p. 297.

19. Campbell, *The Jesuits,* pp. 600–602; Guilday, *John Carroll,* pp. 51–52.

20. Burton, *Challoner,* 2:146–47.

21. Charles A. Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven: Yale University Press), pp. 294–313; Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1955), pp. 259–70.

22. Thomas O'Brien Hanley, *The American Revolution and Religion: Maryland 1770–1800* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1971), pp. 5–19; David C. Skaggs, *Roots of Maryland Democracy, 1753–1776* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973), pp. 123–29.

23. Thomas O'Brien Hanley, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton: The Making of a Revolutionary Gentleman* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1970), chaps. 2–8; Ellen Hart Smith, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1945), chaps. 2–3.

24. Hanley, *Charles Carroll,* p. 138.

25. Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics, and the Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), pp. 92–125.

26. Ibid., pp. 103–9; Land, *Dulanys,* pp. 292–94.

27. Skaggs, *Roots of Maryland Democracy,* p. 130; Peter S. Onuf, ed., *Maryland and the Empire, 1773: The Antilon—First Citizen Letters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

28. Smith, *Charles Carroll,* pp. 100–114; Hanley, *Charles Carroll,* pp. 233–60; Barker, *Background of the Revolution,* pp. 351–55.

29. Onuf, *Maryland and the Empire,* pp. 226–227.

30. Mary Augustina Ray, *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 274–309; Shea, *History,* 2:133–39.

31. Richard D. Clark, "Jonathan Boucher and the Toleration of Roman Catholics in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 71 (1976): 216–29; William T. Russell, *Maryland: The Land of Sanctuary* (Baltimore, J. H. Furst, 1907), pp. 482–87.

32. Skaggs, *Roots of Maryland Democracy,* p. 132.

33. Albert W. Werline, *Problems of Church and State in Maryland during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (South Lancaster, Mass.: College Press, 1948), p. 135.

34. Edwin W. Beitzell, comp., *St. Mary's County, Maryland, in the American Revolution: Calendar of Events* (Leonardtown, Md.: The Author, 1975), pp. 125–26; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland, from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (3 vols.; Baltimore: J. B. Piet, 1879), 2:172. At least seven Catholics can be identified on the committee of observation in Charles County and two in Frederick County (ibid., pp. 170, 174–75). Probably there were more.

35. Besides Carroll of Carrollton, Ignatius Wheeler, Jr., of Harford County was definitely a Catholic and Benjamin Hall of Prince George's County probably so; see entries in Edward C. Papenfuse et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789* (2 vols., Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1979, 1984).

36. Shea, *History,* 2:76; Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore,* pp. 66–67.

37. Thomas W. Spalding, "John Carroll: Corrigenda and Addenda," *Catholic Historical Review,* 71 (1985): 505–10.

38. Carroll to Ellerker, 3 February 1773, *JCP,* 1:29.

39. John Carroll to [Daniel not Eleanor] Carroll, Bruges, *JCP,* 1:32.

40. Annabelle M. Melville, *John Carroll of Baltimore: Founder of the American Catholic Hierarchy* (New York: Scribners, 1955), pp. 38–39, 54–55.

41. Quoted ibid., p. 44.

42. Undated draft, *JCP,* 1:46.

43. John Carroll to Charles Carroll and Samuel Chase, New York, 28 May 1776, ibid., 1:49.

44. Hoffman, *Spirit of Dissension,* pp. 177–83, 269.

45. Philip A. Crowl, *Maryland During and After the Revolution: A Political and Economic Study* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1943), pp. 29–38; Skaggs, *Roots of Maryland Democracy,* pp. 180–96, 230–33. Besides Carroll, Ignatius Fenwick of St. Mary's County and Thomas Semmes of Charles County were definitely Catholics and Benjamin Hall possibly one.

46. See John Tracy Ellis, *Catholics in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore: Helicon, 1965), p. 407.

47. Mary Virginia Geiger, *Daniel Carroll: A Framer of the Constitution* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1943), pp. 56–71; Smith, *Charles Carroll,* p. 163.

48. See entries in Papenfuse et al., *Biographical Dictionary.*

49. Charles H. Metzger, *Catholics and the American Revolution: A Study in Religious Climate* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962), pp. 188–96; Scharf, *History of Maryland,* 2:191–95, 240ff.

50. Metzger, *Catholics and the Revolution,* pp. 48–70; Ellis, *Catholics in Colonial Maryland,* pp. 408–13.

51. Carroll to Plowden, 20 February 1782, *JCP,* 1:66.

52. Hughes, *Documents,* 2:617–19.

53. Carroll to Plowden, 27 September 1783, *JCP,* 1:78.

54. Ibid.

55. Clergy to Pius VI, undated draft, ibid., pp. 68–69.

56. Carroll to Vitaliano Borromeo [?], 10 November 1783, ibid., pp. 80–81, and Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, C-A-4.

57. Compare Carroll to Plowden, 10 April 1784, *JCP,* 1:146, and the same passage in this letter as reproduced in Hughes, *Documents,* 2:619n. A vicar apostolic was usually invested with a titular see *in partibus infidelium,* that is, one of the ancient sees captured by the Moslems.

58. The extent of the four-way diplomacy is indicated in Finbar Kenneally et al., eds., *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives: A Calendar* (9 vols. to date; Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1966-), ser. 1, vol. 1, nos. 32–69.

59. Melville, *John Carroll,* pp. 61–68, discredits the theory of a French intrigue as presented by Guilday, *John Carroll,* pp. 178–201, and others.

60. Melville, *John Carroll,* p. 68.

61. Guilday, *John Carroll,* pp. 203–4. Carroll was not officially a prefect apostolic, a term Shea, Guilday, and others use in referring to his status in the years 1784–89.

62. Hughes, *Documents,* 2:630–33.

63. Carroll to Farmer [and others, December 1784], *JCP,* 1:155–58.

64. Carroll to Antonelli, 27 February 1785, *JCP,* 1:169–75.

65. Carroll later admitted to Antonelli that "Catholics are much more numberous than I reported in previous correspondence" (Carroll to Antonelli, 18 August 1786, ibid., p. 216).

66. Report for His Eminence Cardinal Antonelli, 1 March 1785, ibid., pp. 179–82.

67. Guilday, *John Carroll,* pp. 269–71.

68. Carroll to Antonelli, 13 March 1786.

69. Wharton's maternal grandmother, Anne Darnall, was a sister of Carroll's mother, Eleanor Darnall; see Spalding, "John Carroll: Corrigenda and Addenda," pp. 513–15.

70. Guilday, *John Carroll,* pp. 116–24; Melville, *John Carroll,* pp. 89–92.

71. *An Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States of America by a Catholic Clergyman* (Annapolis, 1784), in *JCP,* 1:82–144.

72. Carroll to Berington, 10 July 1784, *JCP,* 1:147–49.

73. Guilday, *John Carroll,* pp. 131–33. Guilday incorrectly dates Berington's letter 27 March 1788 instead of 1786.

74. Carroll's *Address* was also published in England but with a critical note on Clement XIV, the pope of the suppression, deleted. Carroll refused to alter his harsh judgment of Clement XIV despite the efforts of the Rev. Arthur O'Leary of London, another critic of Wharton, to have him do so. See Carroll to O'Leary [1787], *JCP,* 1:224–26.

75. Carroll to Berington, Rock Creek, 29 September 1786, ibid., pp. 217–19.

76. Ibid.

77. Carroll to Plowden, Rock Creek, 4 June 1787, ibid., p. 253.

78. Guilday, *John Carroll,* p. 130.

79. Hanley, *Revolution and Religion,* especially chaps. 4 and 8.

80. John Carroll to Charles Carroll, White Marsh, 11 November 1783, *JCP,* 1:82.

81. Charles Carroll of Carrollton voted for this amendment to the Declaration of Rights at the time of its drafting (Werline, *Church and State in Maryland,* p. 151).

82. *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates,* 8–14 January 1785.

83. Ignatius Wheeler voted consistently against all resolutions and the bill, Edmund Plowden and George Digges against all but the first resolution, and Michael Taney con-

sistently voted for all. All but Wheeler, however, voted for an earlier bill for the relief of widows and orphans of the Protestant Episcopal clergy (ibid., 29 December 1784). In the senate Daniel Carroll voted for the latter bill but Charles Carroll against it (Geiger, *Daniel Carroll,* p. 83).

84. Carroll to Plowden, Rock Creek, 27 February 1785, *JCP,* 1:168.

85. *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates,* 19 November 1785; Hanley, *Revolution and Religion,* pp. 66–67.

86. Anson Phelps Stokes, *Church and State in the United States* (3 vols; New York: Harper & Row, 1950), 1:387–97. Patrick Henry, the principal advocate of a general tax for religion in Virginia, claimed the support of such eminent statesmen as George Washington and John Marshall. Thomas Jefferson, author of the Virginia Bill for Religious Freedom, and James Madison were his principal opponents.

87. Carroll to Antonelli, 13 March 1786, *JCP,* 1:208–9.

88. Patrick J. Dignan, *A History of the Legal Incorporation of Catholic Church Property in the United States, 1784–1932* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1933), pp. 51–54.

89. Hughes, *Documents,* 2:667, 696.

90. Patrick W. Carey, *People, Priests, and Prelates: Ecclesiastical Democracy and the Tensions of Trusteeism* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987), pp. 7–13; Guilday, *John Carroll,* pp. 246–56.

91. Carroll to Lynch and Stoughton, Rock Creek, 24 January 1786, *JCP,* 1:204.

92. Carroll to Nugent, Rock Creek, 18 July 1786, ibid., p. 214.

93. Carroll to [Paul de St. Pierre], Rock Creek, 18 August 1785, ibid., pp. 195–96.

94. Caroll to [Francis not Leonard] Neale, 17 June 1785, ibid., p. 189.

95. Dr. Henry Jerningham, scion of a prominent English Catholic family, made inquiries of the Spanish governor at New Orleans, and James Walker of St. Mary's County was sent by his neighbors to explore the territory. See J. A. Robertson, "Projected Settlement of the English-Speaking Catholics from Maryland in Spanish Louisiana, 1767, 1768," *American Historical Review,* 16(1911):319–27. Though Catholic writers often ascribed this project to religious persecution, it almost certainly owed to economic considerations.

96. Mary Ramona Mattingly, *The Catholic Church on the Kentucky Frontier (1785–1812)* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1936), pp. 1–39; Clyde F. Crews, *An American Holy Land: A History of the Archdiocese of Louisville* (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1987), pp. 27–44.

97. John M. Daley, *Georgetown University: Origin and Early Years* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1957), pp. 29–34; Carroll to Plowden, Rock Creek, 15 December 1785, *JCP,* 1:198.

98. Hughes, *Documents,* 2:665–66; Daley, *Georgetown University,* pp. 34–35.

99. Carroll to Plowden, Rock Creek, 22 January 1787, *JCP,* 1:241–43.

100. Daley, *Georgetown University,* pp. 28–29, 39–44; Hughes *Documents,* 2:673–79.

101. Hughes *Documents,* 2:666–67.

102. Carroll to O'Brien, Baltimore, 10 May 1788, *JCP,* 1:309.

103. Carroll to Plowden, Rock Creek, 11 July 1786, ibid., p. 212.

104. Carroll to Plowden, Baltimore, 28 February 1787, ibid., p. 246.

105. Hughes, *Documents,* 2:683–84. Dated 25 April 1788, the circular bore thirteen signatures.

106. Carroll to [clergy], 15 July 1788, *JCP,* 1:316–20.

107. Carey, *People, Priests, and Prelates,* pp. 7–16; Guilday, *John Carroll,* pp. 277–82.

108. Carroll to the German Congregation in Philadelphia, Baltimore, 3 March 1788, *JCP,* 1:277.

109. Ibid., pp. 279–80.

110. Crowl, *Maryland During the Revolution,* pp. 83–163; Smith, *Charles Carroll,* pp. 221–34; Geiger, *Daniel Carroll,* pp. 71–150.

111. Timothy J. O'Rourke, comp., *Catholic Families of Southern Maryland: Records of St. Mary's County in the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1985), pp. 95–100.

112. William Hand Browne et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), 71:xvii–xviii, 53. The legislature invalidated the election.

113. Crowl, *Maryland During and After the Revolution,* pp. 74, 92. Catholic names appeared frequently on the lists of "desperate debtors" in the probate records of Charles and St. Mary's Counties.

114. Jackson Turner Main, *Political Parties before the Constitution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), pp. 234–35, 442.

115. Carroll to Carey, Baltimore, 30 January 1789, *JCP,* 1:348–49. The letter to the *Columbian Magazine* was dated 1 September 1787; ibid., pp. 259–61.

116. Philadelphia *Gazette of the United States,* 10 June 1789, ibid., pp. 365–69. State restrictions on Catholics are described in Francis X. Curran, *Catholics in Colonial Law* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1963), 110–25 and Ellis, *Catholics in Colonial America,* pp. 405–7.

117. Carroll to Plowden, Rock Creek, 24 February 1790, *JCP,* 1:432.

118. Ibid., pp. 410–11. The undated address is signed by John Carroll on behalf of the clergy and by Charles Carroll, Daniel Carroll, Dominic Lynch [of New York], and Thomas Fitzsimons [of Philadelphia] on behalf of the laity.

119. Washington to Gentlemen, 12 March 1790, in Guilday, *John Carroll,* p. 366.

120. *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate,* 9, 13, 21–23, 29 December 1788.

121. Guilday, *John Carroll,* p. 352.

122. Carroll to Plowden, Baltimore, 8 [?] May 1789, *JCP,* 1:362.

123. Ibid.

124. There were at this time exactly twenty-four ex-Jesuits or products of the Jesuit College at Liege in America. The records, however, do not reveal who voted.

125. *JCP,* 1:325, 353–57, 362–74, 381–401, and passim.

126. Guilday, *John Carroll,* pp. 309–21. One of the unjust charges that most rankled Carroll was that the Jesuits treated their slaves with great brutality.

127. *JCP,* 1:349–50, 361–62.

128. Carroll to Plowden, Baltimore, 8 [?] 1789, ibid., p. 363. Roan, or William de Rohan as he styled himself, was the priest assigned to Norfolk who wandered off to Kentucky.

129. Carroll to Plowden, Baltimore, 23 October 1789, ibid., p. 389.

130. Claude de la Poterie published *The Resurrection of Laurent Ricci* (Paris, 1789) and dedicated it to "the Ricci in America, the Rev. Fr. John Carroll" (Guilday, *John Carroll,* pp. 285–89). Ricci was the Jesuit general at the time of the suppression.

131. Carroll to Plowden, Baltimore, 12 July 1789, *JCP,* 1:370.

132. Carroll to Plowden, King's Street [London], 13 September 1790, ibid., p. 461.

133. For a translation of the brief see Guilday, *John Carroll,* pp. 358–61.

134. Statement dated 26 May 1790, *JCP,* 1:444.

An American Catholic in Victorian England: Louisa, Duchess of Leeds, and the Carroll Family Benefice

GRACE DONOVAN

Today citizens on both sides of the Atlantic recognize women's legal rights, and many women—either in partnership with their husbands or in sponsoring their own foundations—play prominent philanthropic roles. Recent controversies in the Roman Catholic church have emphasized the different rules of obedience and submission that women, whether as nuns or lay women, must follow.

Financial and eleemosynary decision making on the part of women appeared less frequently during the lifetime of Louisa Caton (1791–1874), granddaughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, daughter of an English immigrant to America, and widow successively of an aide to the Duke of Wellington and of a duke of northern England. Louisa's nineteenth-century contemporaries considered her charming, religious, generous, and independent, but also capricious, dictatorial, and officious. A century later, we see her insistence on personal control of her benefactions, demand of accountability from the male hierarchy and women religious, and successful promotion of her charities as the actions of a sensible and assertive patron.

When in 1816 Louisa set sail for England with her sister and brother-in-law, Mary Ann and Robert Patterson, and another, unmarried sister, Elizabeth or "Bessy," Carroll of Carrollton already had taken steps to insure the financial security of his daughters and granddaughters. Like his father before him, Carroll had not found it necessary to provide independent security for his wife but had recognized the potential economic instability of the spouses of his daughters and granddaughters.

In addition to including appropriate sections and codicils in his will, Carroll in 1829 obtained special state legislation that safeguarded the American inheritances of Louisa, Mary Ann, and Elizabeth.[1] Earlier he had protected their mother, Mary Caton, and her inheritance from the speculations of her husband, Richard Caton.[2] In the case of Mary Ann, Carroll's precaution again proved wise; her second husband, Richard, Marquess of Wellesley, was notorious for expenditures and debts.

Louisa's situation was different. Though her first marriage in 1817 lasted only two years, her European protector, the Duke of Wellington, had himself urged her husband, Sir Felton Bathurst Hervey, to assure jointure for his young wife.[3] Later, through the intervention of the Duke of York, Louisa's pension as a widow was augmented.[4] Before her second marriage, Louisa urged her fiancé, the Marquess of Carmarthen, not to accept an unfavorable settlement with his father, the Duke of Leeds. The duke was estranged from his son over the nationality and religion of his

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heir's intended bride. In this impasse Louisa sought and obtained the support of brothers Wellesley and Wellington while disregarding her grandfather's advice to delay the marriage until parents and son had reconciled.[5] The financial settlement took five years to negotiate; yet through thirty years of that marriage and another fifteen years of widowhood, Louisa's income successively as marchioness, duchess, and dowager enabled her to live much more lavishly than Mary Ann as marchioness and widow or Elizabeth as Lady Stafford, the second wife and eventually widow of a noble with a large family.

Growing up in Baltimore, Louisa was one of the first pupils of Elizabeth Seton. Louisa, along with the Catons and their cousins, the Harpers, became friends of the Seton children.[6] Louisa's education was similar to that of any young girl from a wealthy, Catholic, Maryland family at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Though neither Louisa's father nor her uncle, Robert Harper, was Roman Catholic, both suitors had agreed to Charles Carroll's prenuptial condition that all children be raised in the Catholic tradition.[7] In return, their grandfather was willing to take care of their educational expenses. For the girls education meant nurses and governesses at home, a period as boarders with Mother Seton and her new religious community, a year at school in Philadelphia, and finally presentation to society in Baltimore.

When they were at a distance, the children dutifully wrote to their grandfather. He in turn commented readily on the quality of their letters and their handwriting. After one school report, he noted that Louisa might well apply herself more. Carroll also warned his granddaughter about her tendency toward stubbornness.[8]

FIGURE 1. Louisa Caton, Duchess of Leeds. By P. Johnson. Halftone taken from a mezzotint. (Prints and Photographs, Library, Maryland Historical Society.)

The piety of Elizabeth Seton and the jealousy of Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte led each to contribute to unfair characterizations of Louisa. In her convent school days, Louisa, like many other pupils, thought of becoming a sister in the community at Emmitsburg, but that aspiration subsided after her return to Baltimore and entry into social life. Elizabeth Seton worried about the effect of wealth and frivolity on "poor" Louisa.[9] In writing to the other Elizabeth, the repudiated wife of Jerome Bonaparte and sister-in-law of Mary Ann Caton Patterson, Edward Patterson referred disparagingly to the beautiful Caton sisters. He described them as following the English military from Washington to Canada, then as aspiring to acceptance by royalty during their European tour.[10]

In their first years abroad, Louisa and Bessy were overshadowed by the charm and beauty of their married sister Mary Ann. Gossips suggested that the unhappily married Duke of Wellington had fallen in love with Mary Ann, but the duke included Mary Ann's husband and sisters in his invitations and solicitude. When news of Wellington's attentions reached Maryland, Mary Ann assured Uncle Harper that she had more to fear from the prince regent than from the duke.[11] She did not remain in England as the next mistress of the general. Instead, Louisa, engaged to Wellington's aide, stayed abroad. Bessy decided to delay her return until peace terms between the French and the English finally freed Hervey from duties in Belgium.

Young, carefree, and sociable, Louisa found life as the wife of an officer on call to the outstanding commander of His Majesty irksome.[12] When Hervey had to accompany Wellington, she was no longer free to accept the attentions of other suitors or seek escorts for balls and socials. After two years of marriage, Hervey,

FIGURE 2. A French print of Elizabeth Ann Seton (1774–1821), from a 1790 portrait executed in New York by St. Memin. (John Gilmary Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll,* Vol. 2 of *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* [New York: John G. Shea, 1888], facing p. 536.)

who had already lost an arm in battle, became ill with the gout. A month later he died. Though Emily, another sister of Louisa, reported to Archbishop Ambrose Maréchal that Felton had died of an inflammation of the windpipe, the rumor was suicide.[13] Malicious gossips indicted his frivolous American wife. Fortunately Bessy was there to assist the frantic, desolate widow in her grief. Bessy's letter to family members in America seems to have been delayed, for their response was slow. There was now no question of Bessy leaving the new widow, who remained in Europe near her in-laws.

Indeed, Louisa and Bessy never returned to their homeland. Mary Ann came back to England a year after the death of her husband, Robert Patterson. She, too, resided in Europe permanently after her marriage to Arthur Wellington's older brother. American ministers to the Court of St. James and their staff later were struck by the prominence of these American-born, Roman Catholic, titled ladies among the nobility.[14] Emily, the only sister who remained in America, joined her mother and father in visits to her transplanted sisters but never had occasion to welcome them to any of her residences in Maryland.

Like her mother, her aunt Kitty, and her sisters Mary Ann and Emily, Louisa married Protestants but adhered to Roman Catholicism throughout her life. When the Duke and Duchess of Leeds could not dissuade their son from marrying Louisa, they hoped that at least she might become Protestant. But Louisa assured her brother-in-law that she would abandon neither her faith nor her marriage plans.[15] There is no indication that Hervey or Carmarthen or Wellesley ever interfered with their wives' religious practices or donations to church-sponsored charities. Since both Louisa and Mary Ann were childless, Charles Carroll's possible influence on the religious upbringing of grandchildren in England was never tested. Had Bessy and her Catholic spouse, Baron Stafford, had any children, there would have been no problem about religious upbringing.

British law required an Anglican marriage service, but neither of Louisa's husbands objected to a second, Catholic ceremony. At Louisa's first marriage, Wellington escorted the bride; for her second, Wellesley replaced father and grandfather.[16] Mary Ann's second husband, who, at the time of their nuptials, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, also did not object to a second, Catholic ceremony. On that occasion George IV and the Duke of Wellington both fumed at the use of Crown property for a Roman rite.[17] Previously, in Philadelphia, the Caton's cousin Bishop John Carroll had refused to take part in a Catholic ceremony uniting Louisa's uncle Charles Carroll of Homewood with Harriet Chew.[18] As a Protestant ceremony was also planned, the first Roman Catholic bishop in the United States was wary of setting a precedent in a country where civil law recognized either rite.

The religious fervor Louisa had exhibited as a child was rekindled when her husband inherited title and income from the Leeds estates. She began the restoration of chapels, sought the recommendation of the Archbishop of Westminster for a resident chaplain at the castle, and sponsored the coming of various congregations of women religious, Xaverian brothers, and Jesuit priests to the areas surrounding her residences.[19] In her bequests Louisa showed special interest in the education of orphans, both boys and girls. She was particularly interested in making it possible

for the boys to prepare to enter a seminary or a brothers' novitiate; she thus played a role in providing future priests and teaching brothers.[20]

Louisa was not only the benefactor of orphanages entrusted to the Xaverian Brothers, the Sisters of the Assumption, the Sisters of Charity, and the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus, but also controlled admissions and the purse.[21] She named or approved the headmaster and headmistress, determined the stipends for chaplains and teachers, and supervised the curriculum. She personally interviewed and accepted or rejected orphans for admission (the nuns objected that she favored pretty, little girls). Louisa also drew up conditions for the dismissal of students. When she visited or inspected the school, she purchased supplies and food, selected the doctor, and even determined the chores of the students. After she was widowed a second time, Louisa had much more leisure to exert control. In her final twelve years, which she spent as a lady boarder among the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus, her daily proximity occasioned unflattering as well as grateful comments from the nuns. Their superior and an American expatriate like Louisa, Cornelia Connelly appreciated the duchess's great heart. Younger nuns tired of hearing stories of the old duchess's years as a belle of Maryland, a protegée of Wellington, a luminary in London society, and the lady of Hornsby Castle in Leeds.[22]

Since her childhood on the various Carroll estates in Maryland, Louisa had been surrounded by graceful buildings, carefully crafted furniture, and well-planned landscapes. She reveled in the antiquity of her English holdings, the homes and surrounding lands where she was welcomed. When she learned of the availability of a pre-Reformation residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, zeal, both religious and cultural, led to her insistence that Mayfield come once again into Catholic hands. The duchess supported Cornelia Connelly's efforts to purchase the estate. The local bishop refused, however, to allow Cornelia's still-young community to assume ownership of such ruins. Bound by no vow of obedience, Louisa bought the property herself. First, she offered the land to the Jesuits, who politely demurred, then to the bishop, who felt constrained to refuse a gift that he had forbidden the nuns to acquire. Finally, the duchess bestowed the estate on Cornelia and her community with the stipulation that the sisters restore the palace.[23]

Louisa and Cornelia proved that the sisters were capable of raising funds for such an endeavor through bazaars, "questing" (or begging) in the Catholic royal courts of Europe, and public subscription. Louisa persuaded the reluctant bishop to write a letter certifying the right of the sisters to beg.[24] The duchess herself wrote letters of introduction for the nuns sent on fund-raising expeditions. She headed a list of donors solicited in London, somewhat to the embarrassment of the Jesuits. They were uneasy at the publication of the subscription list so soon after the unfavorable reception of the restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Britain. When the Jesuit superior in England declined her invitation to assist in the project for restoration, Louisa promptly wrote to the generalate in Rome, reminding the administration of her loyalty and benefactions to the papacy and religious institutes. By return post came the message to the London Jesuits to assist in every way possible the duchess's charitable undertakings.[25] The pope also set a gift for the bazaar.[26]

Louisa was able to be much more philanthropic than either Mary Ann or Bessy. When Wellesley died, Louisa feared that the creditors might arrive before Mary

Ann was able to leave the estate. Though Louisa offered her sister accommodations at Hornsby Castle, Lady Wellesley obtained an apartment at Hampton Court by means of a grant from the Crown.[27] Bessy's husband did not leave debts behind him, but Baron Stafford's estates at Costessy were entailed for his children's benefit. After his death his widow took up residence with Louisa.

Despite their differing assets, all three Catons were known for their patronage and benefactions as well as their staunch Catholicism. In secular society Mary Ann was called on more than her sisters to exercise her influence with both Wellington and Wellesley on behalf of those seeking royal favor and to introduce her nephews and niece, the sons and daughter of Emily Caton Mactavish, to English manors. For her part Louisa did not hesitate to beg from Wellington military honors for her first husband and from Wellesley a seat in the House of Lords and a place in the royal household for her second spouse.[28]

The sisters enjoyed equal shares of the American holdings Charles Carroll had provided for them. Unfortunately they had little confidence in the stewardship of their American, male trustees or the business sense of their sister Emily. Bessy seems to have been more aware than Mary Ann or Louisa of the problems of absentee ownership. After Charles Carroll's death in 1832, the heiresses in England could not rely on lawyers, trustees, and agents to protect their American timber lands from vandals, their agricultural lots from squatters, and their rental incomes from embezzlement and inaccurate accounts.[29] In the 1850s James Buchanan, a native of Pennsylvania and American minister to the Court of St. James, failed in his efforts to establish a clear legal statement of the sisters' rights in Pennsylvania and Maryland.[30] Before her death, Mary transferred some of her claims to Annapolis acres to the Redemptorists. Bessy offered her lands in Pennsylvania to Bishop John Neumann of Philadelphia for the endowment of Saint Charles Borromeo Seminary. She did this, she wrote candidly, partly out of charity, partly out of frustration, and in the hope that a resident owner might better profit from the land.[31]

Louisa, who outlived Mary by twenty-one years and Bessy by eleven, was determined to hold on to her Pennsylvania and Annapolis acreage until she could control the use of the land, no matter how ravaged it became. Actually she had no need of the income from her American inheritance. When she decided to sponsor the coming of the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus to the United States, she was somewhat disconcerted by Francis Kenrick's outright refusal to welcome another congregation of women religious into his archdiocese. He told Louisa and Cornelia that the Sisters of the Visitation at Mount de Sales in Baltimore were already burdened with debts. Then he suggested that, after the Civil War, they might consider a foundation in Annapolis where the Redemptorists were established on lands donated by Lady Wellesley. "The Catholics are few, but the fathers desire a good female institution."[32]

When the war ended, Archbishop Martin Spalding suggested that Louisa transfer her property to the archdiocese for use as a reformatory. She was prompt in her refusal.

> This land is already promised and disposed of in my Will—therefore I cannot do as you wish— . . . I have done a great deal for Religion in America, having given

> away a large estate to the Jesuits in Bradford County Pennsylvania and to the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus, another large estate in Lycoming County . . . to establish a boarding school for young ladies. I also paid the expense of the voyage to America. . . . I only mention these gifts that your Grace may see what I have done for Religion in my Country.

Louisa could not resist adding the wish that Spalding would now allow the Sisters of the Holy Child to open a school in Baltimore.[33]

Bishop James Wood of Philadelphia was wary of the problems that would face the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus in Towanda. Louisa wished the sisters to establish a convent school there. Like the Archbishop of Baltimore, Bishop Wood was unsuccessful when he suggested to Cornelia that Louisa grant him power of attorney over her holdings in his diocese.[34] However, unlike Kenrick, Wood yielded to Louisa's wishes. The result was that the sisters spent a few, impoverished years in the rural area before transferring to Philadelphia. Their patroness was reluctant to sanction that move. Eventually it was carried out through the setting up of the Sharon Hill corporation by diocesan lawyers and the American representatives of the duchess.

Louisa and Cornelia would have liked to send sisters in advance to ascertain the true condition of the Towanda lands. The duchess anticipated that the ground would yield coal for the support of the enterprise. Cornelia's bishop, still Thomas Grant, would not allow the exploratory trip. He had heard that the Caton sisters' claims in America were in "an uncertain state." Besides, he claimed, the duchess "is so changeable, and so without the slightest precision in business that you will never know when the property can be had."[35] As a result, Cornelia, who had been waiting since 1851 for an opportunity to send a contingent of sisters to her native land, let herself be guided by Louisa's assurances in 1862.[36]

The Jesuits, to whom Louisa also offered Pennsylvania lands with the requirement that they establish a school, were more fortunate than the sisters. American Jesuits from Woodstock, Maryland, could visit the site in advance and advise the English province. On the strength of that report, which, unfortunately, was not shared with Cornelia, the English Jesuits prevailed on Louisa to give them the land without stipulating that they establish an educational facility. The seminary at Woodstock was to benefit from any profitable use of the land. As Franciscan friars were already serving the sparsely populated area, the Jesuits accurately foresaw no future in Towanda for a school or seminary.[37]

The relationship between childless Louisa, Duchess of Leeds, and Cornelia Connelly, wife, mother, and founder of a religious community, was unusual. Both women, however, were American-born, and both spent most of their adult lives in England. Louisa's aunt Kitty and cousin Emily Harper had befriended the Connelly couple at the time of their submission to the authority of Rome.[38] Decades later, Cornelia and Louisa lived in the same convent during the last years of the duchess's life. After Bessy's death, Louisa expressed interest in becoming a postulant in Cornelia's community, but her friend gently discouraged that move. Despite Bishop Grant's advice that Louisa not be allowed to live in the convent ("If you value peace and quiet, don't let the Duchess build near the Convent"), she was permitted to establish herself in an apartment with the services of her personal maid.[39] When

the nuns encountered difficulties with the local pastor, Louisa financed a fortuitous holiday in Rome for the convent chaplain.[40] Thus she learned the parish's representations to the Curia and marshaled her own defense of the nuns. Through Louisa, Cornelia obtained the medieval site of Mayfield, which she had sought. Though Louisa literally ran the orphanages she founded, the revenue and housing she provided assured economic stablility for Cornelia's institute of women rooting itself under a wary Catholic hierarchy in inhospitable England.

When Louisa came to St. Leonard's in Hastings, Cornelia was still recovering from the publicity generated in England and America by Pierce Connelly's lawsuit against her. In advance of her clergyman husband, Cornelia had declared her faith in the Roman Catholic church. While he pursued his ministry as a priest of Rome, she formed a small religious community with the belief that it would allow her, like Elizabeth Seton in America, to care for her children. After Pierce Connelly reverted to his former adherence to and starus in Anglican orders, he sued for his marital rights and, though unsuccessful, won over their children.[41] After such trials Cornelia welcomed the friendship and generosity of the difficult duchess.

On her side, Louisa benefited from the bonds of their common national heritage, shared Cornelia's sense of educational mission, and gained a home in her old age among cultured women. She had suffered from the gossip surrounding the death of her first husband. An anonymous writer had reported the infidelity of her second spouse.[42] Until the last year of her life, Louisa was able to make annual visits to the castle at Leeds, where her husband's heir welcomed her and the nuns who sometimes accompanied her. From her apartment at St. Leonard's, she could visit her orphanages, inspect the gardens, quarrel with the architect, and supervise construction of the large church she was having erected. Before the senility of her last months, the duchess arranged for trustees to oversee the institutes she had founded and to carry out her directives. In her final illness she, like Bessy twelve years earlier, was nursed by the Holy Child Sisters.[43] When she died in 1874 the bishop, chaplain, trustees, and sisters fulfilled her wishes for funeral liturgy and burial. Her orphans received preferred seating at the rites in Hastings. English relatives accompanied her remains to final burial beside her second husband in the crypt at Kiveton Park.[44]

Though Louisa's jointure and other income from her English holdings enabled her to sponsor projects until her death, some of those who benefited were uneasy about the future. Years before the duchess's death, the Sisters of the Assumption noted Louisa's loss of interest in the Richmond orphans once she became engrossed in the welfare of the children near Hastings.[45] The Sisters of the Holy Child found her unbending in her refusal to let them sell the unprofitable lands in Pennsylvania. The persevering dedication of Cornelia and her nuns enabled the Mayfield restoration plans to proceed. When they realized that Louisa was indeed dying, the bishop, trustees, nuns, and Jesuits welcomed moments with her when she was lucid. All wondered what provisions she had made for her charities.[46]

Cornelia Connelly expressed the disappointment of many when they learned that the duchess's will make her husband's Protestant heirs her residuary legatees.[47] The boys' orphanages where the Xaverian Brothers taught received ten thousand pounds, an amount sufficient for the care of only twenty-five orphans in a building that could accommodate 150 students. The will provided eighty pounds for a

chaplain for the girls. The Oblates of St. Charles received five thousand pounds. The Sisters of the Assumption at Richmond were not mentioned.

Connelly further noted that Louisa left no bequests to her American Mactavish nieces. Mary Wellesley Mactavish had joined her aunts in England and married a younger son of the Earl of Carlisle, but she died before she was thirty years of age. The Marquess of Wellesley had helped Charles Mactavish obtain posts in British embassies. The young diplomat, however, had returned to America, married, and died before Louisa. Another nephew, Alex, who had also spent time at Leeds, was also deceased.[48] Whether those of the next generation were less acquainted with their great aunt in England or whether Louisa had despaired of financial bequests to women in another country is not clear. What is clear is her ability in a physically graceless old age at Hastings to hold the attention of the recipients of her benefactions as she had held those of her suitors in her graceful youth in Maryland, London, Paris, and Leeds.

Louisa's death marked the end of her generation of Catons. She and her sisters in England left behind a story of romantic, trans-Atlantic marriages between British nobility and American wealth. More significantly, the three sisters overseas and Emily in America proved that marriages between Catholics and Protestants in that pre-ecumenical era need not result in discord over the difference in worship or in concern over the partner's lack of religious conversion.[49]

Because of their stable financial situation, Louisa and Emily, in particular, fostered the educational works of women religious. Through the assistance of Louisa, the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus, the Sisters of the Assumption, and the Sisters of Charity in England could operate orphanages for the poor and convent schools for the well-to-do. As her endowment of Xaverian, Jesuit, and diocesan enterprises proved, boys were not excluded from Louisa's care. In America Emily persuaded her grandfather to increase his aid to the Sulpicians and used her own funds to sponsor the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. By donating her residence, she made possible the first foundation of the Sisters of Mercy in Baltimore, the institute that a childhood friend, Catherine Seton, daughter of Elizabeth, had joined.[50] Like Louisa, Emily wished to spend her last years with the sisters. Elizabeth Seton's worries about the frivolity of the Catons' social life would have subsided if she could have foreseen the contributions these Carroll descendants made to the needs of the children of a minority sect in England and of an immigrant church in America.

One modern commentator has opined that Louisa was not a "very nice person." Another has retorted that had she been a man, Louisa's shrewdness, administrative ability supervisory skill, exercise of authority, and furtherance of her projects would have been considered admirable.[51] Whatever one's judgment of Louisa, a study of her life sheds light on the ways an intelligent, resourceful woman dealt with the restrictions law, religious authorities, and societal norms placed on women in Britain and the United States in the nineteenth century.[52] Louisa and Cornelia Connelly's relationship illustrates the advantages of bonding between lay women and nuns based on common concern for the education of children. Louisa—more abrasive than her sisters Mary Ann, Bessy, or Emily—forced the recipients of her largesse to exert themselves by making their own provisions in the future. She

continued grandfather Carroll's legacy of successful stewardship, loyal adherence to Roman Catholicism, and wise choice of counsel in conflicts, civil and ecclesiastical. The patriarch of Carrollton, whose wealth had assured his granddaughters' independence, lived to a ripe old age, but not long enough to see how Louisa, Emily, Bessy, and Mary Ann assisted caring members of society and offered benefaction to cared-for dependents.

NOTES

1. Written copy of act passed by the Maryland legislature, 13 March 1829, Duke of Leeds Papers, Yorkshire Archaeological Society (hereafter YAS).

2. Charles Carroll to Mary Caton, 12 June 1814, in Thomas O'Brien Hanley, ed., *Charles Carroll of Carrollton Papers,* microfilm, Wilmington, Delaware [hereafter Carroll Microfilm]. Carroll's other son-in-law, Robert Goodloe Harper, was also unsuccessful in investments. Carroll's son, Charles Carroll of Homewood, was so addicted to alcohol that eventually he separated permanently from his wife and children.

3. Wellington to Hervey, 3 July 1817, Leeds Papers, YAS.

4. Mary Caton to Ann Chase, n.d. [1826], in the Chase Home Book, Ms. 969, Maryland Diocesan Archives, on deposit in the Maryland Historical Society (MdHS).

5. Charles Carroll to Mary Ann Wellesley, 16 May 1828; to Louisa, 11 June 1828, Leeds Papers, YAS.

6. Elizabeth Seton to Julianna Scott, 30 May 1810, in Joseph B. Code, ed., *Letters of Mother Seton to Mrs. Julianna Scott* (Emmitsburg, Md.: Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, 1935), p. 320.

7. Charles Carroll to Richard Caton, 4 October 1800, Charles Carroll of Carrollton Papers, Ms. 216, MdHS; Robert Harper to Charles Carroll, 5 November 1800, Harper-Pennington Papers, Ms. 431, MdHS.

8. Charles Carroll to Mary Caton, 28 January 1798; to Louisa, 19 September 1803, Carroll Microfilm.

9. Code, *Letters of Mother Seton,* p. 320. See also Annabelle M. Melville, *Elizabeth Bayley Seton, 1774–1821* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), pp. 134, 141.

10. Edward Patterson to Elizabeth Bonaparte, 13 October 1815 and 6 and 25 March 1816, Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte Papers, Ms. 142, MdHS.

11. Mary Ann Patterson to Robert Goodloe Harper, 26 August 1817, Harper-Pennington Papers, Ms. 431, MdHS. Elizabeth Longford has concluded that Wellington's romantic attachment to Mary Ann Patterson was not a fabrication; see Longford, *Wellington: Pillar of State* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 46.

12. Elizabeth Caton to Kitty Harper, 23 June 1817 and 1 August 1819, Harper-Pennington Papers, MdHS.

13. Emily Mactavish to Archbishop Ambrose Maréchal, 6 March 1819, Maréchal Papers, Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore (hereafter AAB). Elizabeth Caton to Robert Goodloe Harper; 8 January 1820, 21 July 1821, and 5 August 1823; Harper-Pennington Papers, MdHS.

14. Diary entries, 4 December 1860 and 22 November 1862, in Sarah A. Wallace and Frances E. Gillespie, eds., *The Journals of Benjamin Moran, 1857–1865* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948–1949), pp. 750, 1093.

15. Louisa to Lord Wellesley, n.d. [1828], Wellesley Papers, Ms. 37310, British Library (hereafter BL).

16. Charles Carroll to Elizabeth Caton, 22 May 1817, Carroll Microfilm; Louisa to Lord Wellesley, n.d. [1828], Wellesley Papers, Ms. 37316, BL.

17. Wellington to Robert Peel, 3 November 1825, in Charles Parker, ed., *Private Correspondence of Robert Peel* (London: J. Murray, 1891), p. 378.

18. John Carroll to Charles Carroll, 15 July 1800, Carroll Papers, Ms. 216, MdHS.

19. For examples of Louisa's largesse, see *Aberdeen Herald,* 21 September 1839; Sister Therese Emmanuel to Louisa, 28 September 1853, Leeds Papers, YAS; H. M. Woolprey to Louisa, 20 February 1843, Leeds Papers, YAS; and G. M. Dallas to Lady H., 5 April 1860, in Julia Dallas, ed., *A Series of Letters from London Written During the Years 1856, '57, '58, '59 and '60* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1869), 2:200.

20. Louisa to Reverend Joseph Searle, 7 April 1862; Searle to Bishop Thomas Grant, 1 July 1862; Louisa to Grant, 25 February 1864. Photocopies of these letters are in the Archives of the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus, Rosemont, Pennsylvania (hereafter HCJR).

21. Memoranda of Holy Trinity Orphanage (later called St. Francis Xavier's), Mayfield, Sussex, and Xaverian Generalate Archives, Twickenham, England (hereafter XBA).

22. Details on Louisa's activities from 1862 to her death in 1874 are available mainly through photocopies of the letters of Louisa and Cornelia Connelly in HCJR. Published studies of Cornelia Connelly include chapters on the Duchess of Leeds's relations with the sisters' community; see Mother Marie Therese, *Cornelia Connelly: A Study in Fidelity* (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1963), chaps. 15 and 16.

23. Louisa to Grant, 4 October 1863 (copy), HCJR.

24. A copy of Grant's letter is in HCJR.

25. John Ffrench, S.J., to Thomas Leed, S.J., 7 April 1864 (copy), HCJR.

26. Searle to Grant, 6 May 1864 (copy), HCJR.

27. Louisa to Mary Ann, n.d. [1842], Leeds Papers, YAS; Mary Ann to Robert Peel, 23 November 1842, Peel Papers, Ms. 40519, BL.

28. Wellington to Hervey, 2 May 1817, and Louisa to Mary Ann, 1 May 1835, Leeds Papers, YAS; Mary Ann to Lord Wellesley, n.d., Wellesley Papers, Ms. 37316, BL.

29. Josiah Pennington to Mary Ann, Louisa, and Elizabeth, 24 February 1842 and 25 November 1846, Caton-Hoffmann Papers, Ms. 1229, MdHS.

30. Elizabeth to James Buchanan, 10 December 1853 and 18 October 1855, and Louisa to Buchanan, 8 February 1857, Buchanan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter HSP).

31. Elizabeth to Gen. Winfield Scott, 2 September 1853, Carroll Papers, Ms. 216, MdHS.

32. Connelly to Francis Kenrick, 24 April 1861, and Kenrick to Connelly, 3 July 1861 (copies), HCJR.

33. Louisa to Spalding, 17 May 1866, Kenrick Papers, Ms. 39R4, AAB.

34. James Wood to Connelly, 14 May 1861; Louisa to C. L. Ward, 24 July 1861; and Connelly to Wood, 3 June 1861 (copies), HCJR.

35. Grant to Connelly, 6 April 1861 (copy), HCJR.

36. Cornelia Connelly had asked the Office of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome to recommend her institute should inquiries be made by American dioceses. See Connelly to Cardinal Giacomo Fransoni, n.d. [1851] (copy), HCJR.

37. Walter Clifford, S.J., to Thomas Leed, S.J., 17 April 1861; William Clark, S.J., to Angelo Parasce, S.J., 1 and 3 September 1861; Parasce to R.I. Vaughan, S.J., 10 September 1861; and Louisa to Leed, 20 June 1862 (copies), HCJR.

38. Connelly to her sister, Mary Peacock, n.d. [1836], HCJR. Emily Harper was also

the godmother of Cornelia and Pierce Connelly's son Francis (see copy of baptismal certificate, HCJR).

39. Connelly to Grant, 6 July 1862; Grant to Connelly, 10 July 1862; and Connelly to Grant, 23 July 1862 (copies), HCJR.

40. Searle ro Grant, 1 February 1864 (copy), HCJR.

41. A recent study of Pierce Connelly is D. G. Paz, *The Priesthoods and Apostasies of Pierce Connelly: A Study of Victorian Conversion and Anticatholicism* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Mellen, 1986).

42. Unsigned noted to Louisa, 19 December [n.d.], Leeds Papers, YAS.

43. Sacristy Journals of Sr. Leonard's, 29 October 1862 (copy), HCJR.

44. Ibid., 8 April 1874; Annals of the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus, 14 April 1874; and George Arnold to Connelly, 13 April 1874 (copies), HCJR.

45. Sister Clare Veronica, unpublished article written in 1987 about Louisa's influence on education in Richmond, England (author's possession).

46. Connelly to Catherine Tracy, 18 February 1874 and 14 March 1874 (copies), HCJR.

47. Connelly to Tracy, 10 April 1874 (copy), HCJR.

48. For an example of Mary Ann's influence on her husband, see Lord Wellesley to Lord Palmerston, 16 September 1840, Wellesley Papers, ADD. Ms. 37312, BL. For the dates of rhe deaths of the Macravish nephews and niece, see File Case A, MdHS.

49. The *Leeds Intelligencer,* 14 May 1859, referred to reports of the Duke of Leeds's reception into the Catholic church on his deathbed. So did the notes toward a biography of Cornelia Connelly. See copies, HCJR.

50. See John J. Tierney, S. S., "St. Charles College: Foundation and Early Years," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 43 (1948): 294–311; Annals of the Monastery of Our Lady of Charity, 1895, p. 7; and Emily Mactavish to David Perine, 30 March 1854, Perine Papers, Ms. 645, MdHS.

51. Discussion following the author's presentation of the paper on which this article is based, "In the Carroll Tradirion: Louisa, Duchess of Leeds," at the 1986 meering of the American Catholic Historical Association, John Carroll University.

52. For a study of the complications involved in leaving property to women in England, see Lee Holcombe, *Wives and Property* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1983). For a discussion of bequests to women in America, see Marylynn Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1986). For an introduction to Charles Carroll's granddaughters, see Grace Donovan, "The Caton Sisters: The Carrolls of Carrollton Two Generations Later," *U.S. Catholic Historian,* 5 (1986): 291–303.

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

William Smith: Godfather and First President of St. John's College

ARTHUR PIERCE MIDDLETON

On Wednesday, 11 November 1789, an event occurred in Annapolis which the college's historian, Tench Tilghman, has described as the day St. John's College officially began its academic career. Members of the General Assembly, the chancellor, judges of the General Court, gentlemen of the bar, and the worshipful corporation of the city, followed by the students and a "numerous and respectable concourse of people" went in procession from the State House, through North Street, to what is now called College Avenue, and then to Bladen's Folly, which had been converted into a suitable building to house St. John's College. There—presumably in the Great Hall—Dr. William Smith, who had been named the day before president pro tem of the college, preached what the *Maryland Gazette* described as "an elegant sermon," and the rector of St. Anne's Parish and former master of King William's School, Ralph Higinbotham, gave an oration on the advantages of a classical education.[1]

Why William Smith was an excellent choice—indeed the obvious one—for both president pro tem of the infant college and for preacher on this auspicious occasion requires explanation. It is strange that such an eminent figure in the intellectual circles of eighteenth-century America needs any introduction at all, but the sad fact is that he is not as well known today as he deserves to be, or as he was to his contemporaries.

Born in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, in 1727, Smith was the son of a small landholder and the grandson of a physician and astronomer.[2] His sister married an officer of the Royal Navy who later acquired fame as an admiral who defeated a Dutch fleet in 1797 and was elevated to the peerage as Viscount Duncan of Camperdown. One of his brothers settled in Philadelphia, practiced law, and eventually became a judge of the highest court in Pennsylvania. William Smith was educated at King's College, Aberdeen, just at the beginning of the great Scottish renaissance of the eighteenth century. After serving as a schoolmaster for a time, he came to New York in 1751 as a private tutor to the sons of a wealthy gentleman on Long Island. While there he published poetry in the New York and Pennsylvania newspapers, a letter in defense of freedom of the press, and a pamphlet on education urging the creation of a college in New York City.

Canon Middleton, author of *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of the Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (repr. Johns Hopkins, 1984), now has published *Annapolis on the Chesapeake* (Legacy, 1988).

In 1753 the twenty-six-year-old scholar published his magnum opus, a pamphlet of eighty-six pages entitled *A General Idea of the College of Mirania, with a Sketch of the Method of Teaching Science and Religion.* Intended for the proposed college in New York, it set forth his concept of the curriculum and teaching methods appropriate to a liberal arts college. Smith was a strong believer in a classical education, but in the characteristic vein of the Age of Reason he proposed rejecting some things commonly taught at colleges and adding others. Inspired by a quotation from Archbishop John Tillotson, he held that "the knowledge of what tends neither directly nor indirectly to make better men and better citizens, is but a knowledge of Trifles: it is not learning, but a specious and ingenious sort of Idleness." Consequently, Smith rejected the "Rubbish" of the vast tomes of ancient rabbis, schoolmen, and modern metaphysicians, and also "the polemic writers about Grace, Predestination, moral Agency, the Trinity, Ec Ec," and added that "the years of Methusalem would be far too short to attain any Proficiency in all the Disputes and Researches of this kind, which have so long puzzled the learned world, and are still as much undecided as at first. Almighty God seems to have set the knowledge of many Things beyond our present Ken, on purpose to confound our Pride." Instead, Smith recommended "rejecting Things superfluous and hypothetical" and urged that we "mount directly up to fundamental Principles, and endeavour to ascertain the Relations we stand in to God and universal Intelligence, that we may sustain, with dignity, the Rank assign'd us among intellectual Natures, and move in Concert, with the rest of Creation, in accomplishing the great End of all things."[3]

Such a distinction was a little daring for a college to be erected in one of the colonies, where the natural tendency was to avoid anything novel and to cleave to the accepted ways of the Mother Country. Smith made another distinction that was, perhaps, even more daring, by dividing the whole body of prospective students into two categories: those who had an aptitude for the learned professions, and all the rest, including those whose talents inclined to the mechanic arts. Different training, he thought, should be provided for the two groups. The classic languages, for example, would be of use to professionals but a waste of time for anyone else.

A General Idea of the College of Mirania had no immediate results. King's College opened in New York six months after the book appeared "on a plan somewhat different," as Smith ruefully observed. But a copy that he sent to Benjamin Franklin did produce results, and Smith was invited to be head of the Academy of Philadelphia. Before taking up his post he returned to England, where he was ordained a priest of the Anglican church and where he conducted a highly successful fund drive for the academy. Returning to Philadelphia in 1754, Smith set about to transform the school into a college.

During the next quarter of a century Smith as provost became a fixture in the intellectual life of the City of Brotherly Love. He was among the chief promoters of the new liberal cultural movement in the fields of belles-lettres, art, music, and drama. His students at the college included Francis Hopkinson (musician, composer, poet, later a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and designer of the American flag); Thomas Godfrey, Jr. (poet, playwright, and author of the "Prince

of Parthia," c. 1758–59); and Benjamin West, whose aptitude Smith discovered. West studied art in Italy in 1760, became court portrait painter to George III, and ultimately served as president of the Royal Academy. In the realm of law and politics, one of Smith's students who later made good was William Paca, lawyer, signer of the Declaration of Independence, governor of Maryland, and a federal judge. One of the ways in which Smith sought out and encouraged literary ability was by founding in 1757 a magazine which, though short-lived, proved to be a vehicle for many rising young men of talent. Culturally, *The American Magazine, or Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies* was the most influential periodical in colonial America. Almost simultaneously three of Smith's protégés produced one of the earliest American musical compositions, the first American drama to be professionally performed, and the first American painting of permanent worth. Smith's fame spread far and wide, eventually reaching Great Britain. While there raising money for the college in 1759, he received the degree of doctor of divinity from Aberdeen, Oxford, and Dublin universities, an uncommon distinction for a colonial.

Liberal though he was in cultural and intellectual matters, Smith was somewhat conservative in matters political. Almost as soon as he arrived in Philadelphia, he began to participate in public affairs—writing pamphlets, publishing letters, and preaching sermons. Though sharing many cultural and educational ideas with Franklin, Smith soon quarreled with him. Franklin belonged to the antiproprietary or country party, whereas Smith identified himself with the proprietary party and frequently castigated the Quakers, who dominated the legislature, for refusing to appropriate funds to defend the frontier settlements against Indian attacks. On one occasion, in 1758, he was arrested by the assembly, convicted of libel, denied a writ of habeas corpus, and sent to prison. Supported by trustees of the college and the proprietary governor, Smith taught his classes in moral philosophy through the prison bars. Released by the courts, he went to England and appealed his case. It took a long time and a great deal of money, but eventually the king-in-council sustained his appeal and directed the governor to declare His Majesty's "High Displeasure" at the assembly's unwarranted disregard of habeas corpus. Smith was completely vindicated and British justice triumphed.[5]

Though sympathizing with fellow colonists during the Stamp Act crisis, Smith was vety slow indeed to accept the idea of independence, holding to the increasingly forlorn hope that sooner or later the British government would make amends and grant sufficient autonomy to reconcile the Americans to remaining within the British Empire. His reluctance to embrace revolution got him into trouble with the patriot party. On 6 January 1776 he was called before the Philadelphia Council of Safety and charged with speaking disrespectfully of the Continental Congress. There being no evidence, the charge was dropped. Curiously enough, the next month Congress invited him to give an oration commemorating General Montgomery and the men who had fallen with him in his unsuccessful attack on Quebec. Smith also defended the colonists' action at Lexington and Concord as justifiable self-preservation. And on 8 December 1778, Smith preached in Christ Church, Philadelphia, to a Masonic gathering in the presence of General Washington. Hence he could scarcely have been considered a loyalist at that time. The moderation of his views, which caused some people to suspect him of being a loyalist, led others to look

upon him as a rebel. On 20 December 1776 the loyalist Samuel Seabury (later to become Bishop of Connecticut) wrote to the English ecclesiastical authorities that Smith, like other Philadelphia priests, rushed headlong into the Revolution. This perception of him as being something other than what he felt himself to be did nothing for his volatile disposition and probably provoked him to register his resentment in rather strong language.[4]

During the Revolution soldiers were quartered on the college grounds, and most students returned to their homes. When British troops approached Philadelphia, the college was shut down for nearly two years. It reopened in January 1779, shortly after the British evacuated the city. But Smith's adversaries in the assembly persuaded that body to dissolve the trustees and faculty of the college and to substitute a new board that was more under the control of the legislature.

It must have been heartbreaking for Smith to be cast out after nearly thirty years of devoted and distinguished service to the college. In 1780 he left Philadelphia and accepted a call to Chestertown, Maryland, where he became rector of St. Paul's and Chester parishes. Since his stipend of 600 bushels of wheat per annum was inadequate, it was understood that he was free to accept a few private students, and shortly thereafter he was put in charge of the Kent County Free School, where Charles Willson Peale's father had been master forty years before. Within two years Smith had conceived of the idea of a college for the Eastern Shore and persuaded the assembly to charter Washington College in Chestertown. By 14 May 1783, when the first commencement took place, Smith had raised more than £10,000 Maryland currency, and the list of subscribers was headed by the national idol, General Washington, who gave £50 and permitted his name to be used for the college. At its third commencement in 1785, nine men were awarded doctor of divinity degrees, including John Carroll, who had helped Smith draw up the charter of St. John's College the year before and later became the first Roman Catholic bishop in the United States.

Meanwhile, Smith in 1788 published a pamphlet appealing to the Pennsylvania legislature to reinstate the violated charter of the College of Philadelphia. Now that the rancors of the Revolutionary War were beginning to subside, many prominent men exerted influence in Smith's behalf. In 1789 the assembly reinstated the old trustees, faculty, and provost. Smith was vindicated once more, but it meant that he had to forsake his fledgling college in Chestertown and return to Philadelphia. Oddly enough, in the year 1789, when he served as president of St. John's College temporarily and for ceremonial reasons, he was also president of Washington College, Chestertown, and of the College of Philadelphia as well. How often in our history has one man been the nominal head of three institutions of higher learning at the same time?

When in 1782, Smith opened Washington College, the preamble of the charter described it as a part of a projected university that was to include a sister college on the Western Shore, the two to be united under one jurisdiction. Since this concept of a state university bestride the Chesapeake (like the Colossus of Rhodes) was the product of his fertile brain, it was only natural that Smith, the most eminent academician in the United States, should have been in the forefront of the move to create a college on the Western Shore to balance the one in Chestertown. A group of gentlemen met in Annapolis on 3 December 1784 to hasten the project. They

FIGURE 1. Rev. William Smith (1727–1803), founder of Washington College. This portrait is a copy of one by Gilbert Stuart, ca. 1800. (Courtesy of Washington College, Chestertown.)

appointed six persons—three clerics and three laymen—to a committee to "complete the . . . bill for founding a college on the Western Shore, and to publish the same immediately." Imagine how long it would take today! But in those halcyon days, the job was done in less than two weeks. In December 1784 the assembly passed "An Act for founding a college on the western shore of this state, and constituting the same, together with Washington College on the eastern shore, into one university, by the name of the University of Maryland."[5]

Pursuant to the Maryland Declaration of Rights of 1776, which swept away all the civil and financial prerogatives of the Anglican (or Episcopal) church, the three ecclesiastics on the committee represented the three principal subdivisions of Maryland's Christian community: Dr. Smith, the Episcopalians; John Carroll, the Roman Catholics; and Patrick Allison, a Presbyterian divine, the Protestant dissenters generally. The draft borrowed large portions of Smith's Washington College charter. Smith later declared that he and his Roman Catholic and Presbyterian colleagues had drawn the St. John's charter happily and with great unanimity.

This ecumenical concord, together with the toleration engendered by the Age of Reason, led them to write that all qualified students were to be admitted "without requiring or enforcing any religious or civil test" and "without urging their attendance upon any particular worship or service, other than what they have been educated in, or have the consent and approbation of their parents or guardians to attend." But there was no idea of trying to eliminate religion from education. The college was to nurture students in their own church affiliations and provide them with opportunity to frequent their particular forms of worship in the churches in Annapolis.[6]

While all this was going on in the 1780s, Dr. Smith was active and influential in the church in Maryland and on a national level. Four months after arriving in Chestertown in 1780 he presided over a convention consisting of three priests and twenty-four laymen which made the first move toward organizing the diocese of Maryland. This was the first convention of the Episcopal church in any of the thirteen American states; it was composed of lay representatives as well as clergy and undertook to cope with the changes brought about by the Revolution in the polity and liturgy of the Anglican church in America. Annual conventions were held in Maryland thereafter, and Smith was chosen to preside over every one of them until in 1789 he returned to Philadelphia. These conventions erected the diocese of Maryland, created a constitution and canons, and in 1783 chose Smith as bishop of Maryland. On the national stage, too, Smith emerged as an Episcopalian leader. His organizing talent, impressive intellectual stature, and speaking ability resulted in his election as president of all the early national Episcopal conventions and as chairman of the committees that in 1789 formulated the constitution of the Episcopal church and produced the first American Book of Common Prayer. That year Smith also served as president pro tem of St. John's College, participated in its opening ceremonies, and preached his "elegant Sermon."[7]

Crowned with success and recognition, Smith became one of the foremost celebrities of his day. But he suffered several adversities, and they, rather than his triumphs, give us insight into his character. One was when he was imprisoned unjustly by the Pennsylvania assembly; another was when he was ejected from his provostship of the College of Philadelphia by the political machinations of his enemies. In both cases he resolutely resisted and ultimately obtained vindication, proving his confidence in justice and strength of character. After all, the classical authors whom he taught had said that as fire tests gold, so adversity tests brave men.

But his other great adversity, his failure to win consecration as bishop, revealed him to be a man whose faith was even greater than his pride and his ambition. All the reasons for this disappointment are not known to us, but it appears that, like many eighteenth-century gentlemen, Smith was accustomed all his life to imbibe hard liquor in liberal amounts. He was certainly not an alcoholic—his active life and prodigious achievements make that quite clear. Although he did not habitually overindulge in public, he was reported to have done so once, while attending the General Convention in New York. Smith denied the allegation and called for proof, which as far as we know was never forthcoming. The Maryland Convention dismissed the allegation as unproven and even unlikely, but the charge hung over him like a cloud, and he never again applied to the General Convention for confirmation of his election or for recommendation to the Archbishop of Canterbury for consecration.

This darkest hour proved paradoxically to be his finest hour. He was, in effect, considered guilty until proved innocent. His undeniable ecclesiastical contributions, and especially his organizing and liturgical abilities, seem to justify his consecration as the first bishop of Maryland. Much as he yearned for the lawn sleeves of a bishop, Smith did not allow what in his view was unwarranted rejection to curtail his devoted service to the church. He continued to serve in any way it could use

him. And he remained one of the most prominent American priests, being chosen to preside over every convention in Maryland until he left in 1789, and over every House of Deputies of General Convention until 1801, when ill health prevented him. In addition, he had the high honor of being selected to preach the sermon at the burial of his old political enemy, Benjamin Franklin, and he was chosen to preach at the consecration of the first three bishops of the Episcopal Church that were consecrated in America: Thomas John Claggett of Maryland, Robert Smith of South Carolina, and Edward Bass of Massachusetts. Moreover, he remained on friendly terms with Bishop White, who opposed his consecration, and with Dr. Andrews, who made the allegation against him in the first place. It would seem that love of Christ and his holy church took precedence over egotism, righteous indignation, and ambition. There is perhaps no better illustration of his Christian character. And this eminent and impressive academic and churchman was the first president pro tem of St. John's College.

Notes

1. Tench Francis Tilghman, *The Early History of St John's College in Annapolis* (Annapolis, Md.: St John's College Press, 1984), p. 1.
2. For general accounts of Smith's life, see Horace Wemyss Smith, *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: S. A. George & Co., 1879–80; repr. 1972); Albert Frank Gegenheimer, "William Smith, Educator and Churchman" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1943); Thomas Firth Jones, *A Pair of Lawn Sleeves: A Biography of William Smith (1727–1803)* (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Co., 1972).
3. Smith quoted in Gegenheimer, "William Smith," pp. 15–16. See also John Frederick Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), pp. 208–9, 212–15.
4. On Smith's character and politics see Gegenheimer, "William Smith," pp. 124–82; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism,* pp. 211–12.
5. *Laws of Maryland* (1784).
6. Charter quoted in Tilghman, *St John's College,* pp. 3–6.
7. Smith, *William Smith,* 2:264–305; William Wilson Manross, *History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1959), pp. 189–99; Nelson Waite Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church* (Baltimore: Church Historical Society for the Diocese of Maryland, 1956), pp. 123–31; Clara O. Loveland, *The Critical Years: The Reconstruction of the Anglican Church in the United States of America, 1780–1789* (Greenwich, Conn.: Seabury Press, 1956), pp. 25–33, 210–13, 255–56, 261–62, 288.

John McDowell, Federalist: President of St. John's College

CHARLOTTE FLETCHER

In the spring of 1790 Professor John McDowell was the dark horse among possible candidates for president of St. John's College in Annapolis. The college trustees had advertised that they preferred "a Stranger or some Gentleman of Great Character from Europe." On 5 May Reverend William Smith wrote Reverend William West, chairman of the trustees, that if such a candidate offered himself, he might not "suit the American Genius" (Smith, then provost of the University of Pennsylvania, had presided as president pro tempore at the opening of St. John's the previous November). "I have the interest of that Seminary [St. John's] and its future success much at Heart. . . . [W]ere I not too advanced in years, I am not certain whether I might not have offered my Services once more as head of one of the Maryland Seminaries [he had been Washington College's first president]. . . . [B]ut my Family is attach'd to Pennsylvania."[1] Taking himself out of the race—and disparaging the notion that a "Stranger" or "Great Character from Europe" was preferable to a qualified native—Smith opened the field to McDowell of the St. John's faculty.

"It would have been well," Smith continued, "if the Assembly had restored the Funds previous to an Election [of legislators]."[2] How each election would affect their funding worried the trustees as well. Although it was a common practice among trustees of their era to appoint a distinguished clergyman of their own denomination (a majority of the St. John's trustees were Episcopalians) to head their colleges, they acted otherwise. Being politically enlightened, they demonstrated in 1790 that the college was open to students and faculty of all denominations, as their charter stated. They passed over the Reverend Ralph Higinbotham, rector of St. Anne's Church, also on the faculty (there is no indication that he wanted to be president), although his profile nearly matched their ad: he was an Anglican clergyman from Waterford, Ireland, educated in Europe. They appointed a Presbyterian, John McDowell, as president of the college and a Catholic, Bishop John Carroll, as chairman of their board.

The trustees were honored to have Carroll join their ranks; he was America's foremost Catholic educator as well as America's first Roman Catholic bishop. He represented a prominent Maryland family who had promoted the college. McDowell had no prominent family connections in Maryland. His Maryland friends consisted of alumni of the College of Philadelphia, where he taught without professorial rank after his graduation, and colleagues from Cambridge, where, during

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Ms. Fletcher, an Annapolis resident, has contributed often to the *Maryland Historical Magazine.*

the preceding seven years while teaching school, he had prepared for admission to the Dorchester County bar. For five years he had practiced law in Dorchester County. Presented with these modest credentials, the St. John's trustees relied on a judgment formed during his year on the faculty, that McDowell "suited the American genius" and could head the college. "The vote being unanimous was not a little flattering," wrote Charles Goldsborough in congratulation. "I always was sure that the delay . . . would, by extending your acquaintance among the Trustees, ensure it [the presidency] to you."[3]

The trustees and McDowell shared an enthusiasm for the federal Constitution just adopted but not a common background. The trustees had grown up in well-established tidewater communities on the Chesapeake near ports where English vessels routinely docked. John McDowell had grown up in a landlocked valley where the Scots-Irish settlers often took the law into their own hands. He was born in 1750, the second son of John and Mary Maxwell McDowell. They had twelve children on a farm near Marks in Peters Township, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. It lay in the Great Cove under Parnell Knob of the Tuscarora range. From ages five to twelve he lived intermittently within a stockade around the West Conococheague Presbyterian meeting place called White Church. The stockade protected families from Indians on the rampage during outbreaks of the French and Indian wars. Fires set by Indians twice burnt his log home to the ground.[4]

During such turmoil he learned to read, write, and figure, all the while being taught the tenets of his Presbyterian faith. The *New England Primer* and *Pikes Arithmetic* probably were among his texts. According to a grand nephew, "he was early taught the *Bible,* the "Shorter and Larger Catechism," and the "Confession of Faith"—"these of themselves being good training for the young mind."[5] For three years, until Indians destroyed it, he attended John King's Latin school. In 1763 the school closed, and King left for the east.[6]

Reading and lessons learned in church, field, and crossroads rounded out McDowell's education. The Presbyterian church was a center in frontier communities. According to a Presbyterian historian, at age ten during a Presbyterian prayer session when the frontier was under seige, John experienced a conversion.[7] He also learned from working in the fields. Surveying was a school in mathematics for many colonial youths. After the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary dispute was settled, his father employed surveyors to prepare a valid deed for the Pennsylvania land office to replace the warrants under which his grandfather had settled in the 1730s.[8] John may have learned his geometry and trigonometry by participating in the survey. He learned principles of economics like a fair price in Marks, where pony trains carrying goods from the east filed through on their way west. Farmers, millers, and hunters there bartered their grain, flour, and skins for manufactured goods. They lived in a subsistence economy without money. They were landlocked between the east and west branches of the Conococheague Creek, whose beautiful swift rapids powered their mills but were not navigable. Early experience in barter trade left him with an appreciation for money, not just for what it could buy but for its convenience. In later years he often acted as broker for his planter clients in Maryland who needed to borrow between crops. He was shrewd in the investment of his own money.

When McDowell was seventeen his former teacher John King visited West Conococheague on the eve of his ordination to the Presbyterian ministry. He had just won a degree in theology from the College of Philadelphia. The elders of White Church—John McDowell's father was one—persuaded him to become their pastor,[9] their first since 1757. Not only did King's example encourage McDowell to enter the College of Philadelphia, but King also served as an intermediary between him and the college authorities to assure them of the youth's competence. John's parents had no money to pay his college tuition, so arrangements were made for him to tutor less advanced students in exchange for his tuition and board. King's classmate, John Montgomery, a member of the college faculty, sponsored McDowell, guaranteeing that his tuition would be paid quarterly.[10]

McDowell entered the College of Philadelphia in the fall of 1768, the first youth raised on the frontier to be admitted. Throughout the year Provost William Smith and professors Ewing and Williamson on the college faculty joined other mathematicians and astronomers in America and Europe in preparation for the observation of the transit of Venus to take place the following 3 June. The first number of the American Philosophical Society's *Transactions* published their remarkably accurate calculations preliminary to and during the transit. Three years later, at commencement, McDowell gave the English oration entitled "On the Advantages of Studying History." In Smith's absence, he thereafter conducted the provost's class in natural philosophy, assisted with the apparatus by David Rittenhouse. Three members of the Class of 1771 joined the faculties of colleges founded after the Revolution: Samuel Armor, vice-president of Washington College; Robert Davidson, acting president of Dickinson College, and John McDowell, president of St. John's College. Like his classmates, McDowell fought in the Revolution. Unlike them, he served as a private (until he became ill), not an officer. Samuel Hanson of Maryland served as a surgeon on Washington's staff.[11]

After the war—by 1782—four of McDowell's classmates had completed graduate studies to qualify for professorial appointments, graduate studies at this time involving the three professions of medicine, law, and theology. Because of a weak voice, McDowell felt himself unfit for the ministry. When Judge Robert Goldsborough, whose nephew Charles was McDowell's student at the University of the State of Pennsylvania (successor to the College of Philadelphia), invited McDowell to read law in his Cambridge, Maryland, office, McDowell seized the opportunity. To support himself while preparing for the bar, McDowell conducted a school in Cambridge. In 1783 he was admitted to the Dorchester County bar and in 1784 to the Franklin County bar in Pennsylvania (Franklin had been carved from Cumberland County and included Peters Township). But he chose to stay in Dorchester where he soon had a lucrative law practice and many congenial friends.[12]

Meanwhile in Annapolis King William's School and newly chartered St. John's College had merged. In March 1786 one of the King William's School trustees, Alexander Contee Hanson (brother of McDowell's deceased classmate Samuel Hanson), joined the college board. He was promptly appointed to a committee authorized to "contract for the repair of and addition of two wings to Bladen's Folly, with sanguine expectations that in less than twelve months . . . a grammer

school will flourish within these walls."[13] For three years efforts to open the college stalled while Hanson contributed a series of articles to the *Maryland Gazette* against the emission of paper money and, under the pseudonym "Aristides," rallied support in Maryland for the ratification of the U.S. Constitution. Hit by the depression, subscribers to the college were unable to pay their pledges. After ratification of the Constitution, which prevented state governments from printing of paper money, the economy improved.

In the spring of 1789 the trustees of St. John's had resources enough to appoint two professors and to open the college. They offered the professorship of mathematics to John McDowell and the professorship of languages to the Reverend Ralph Higinbotham and ordered that two rooms in Bladen's Folly be made ready for classes[14] (they never added the wings proposed earlier). Following a visit to his parents, McDowell in August appeared before the trustees to accept his appointment. Several weeks later he wrote his father from Cambridge, "I have determined to remove to Annapolis. At present I exepct it will be about the middle of November. . . . I shall . . . have the satisfaction of being near my friends and hearing more frequently from them."[15]

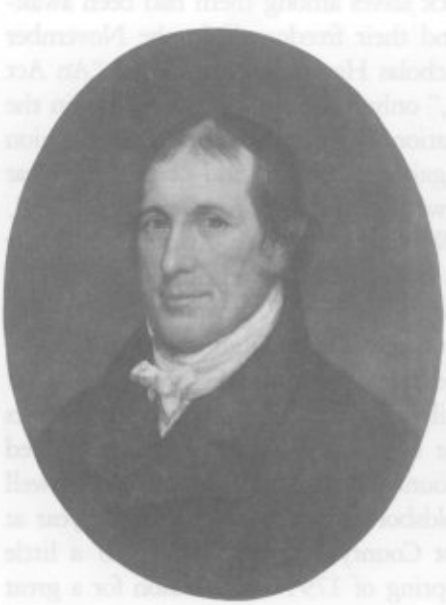
The friends he referred to comprised a group of rising young Maryland Federalists. All had been members of the lower house or senate. Three had been delegates to the convention that ratified the U.S. Constitution. Four would be elected to Congress, two received high federal appointments, and two became governor.[16] They conversed and corresponded with each other, commenting on the Declaration of Independence and its endowing all men with the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; they noted that the black slaves among them had been awakened politically and would inevitably demand their freedom.[17] In the November 1789 session of the Maryland legislature, Nicholas Hammond introduced "An Act to Promote the Gradual Abolition of Slavery," only to arouse such an uproar in the assembly that it tabled the bill. A determination to preseve the new federal union silenced even those bold enough to speak against a certain kind of property that genuinely embarassed them, and they foresaw the struggle for its abolition ahead. Of these friends William Tilghman and William Hindman manumitted their slaves by their wills.[18] Almost as soon as McDowell arrived in Annapolis his friends, one by one, moved away. In 1790 John Henry left Annapolis for the U.S. Senate. By 1800 both William Vans Murray and William Tilghman were gone—Murray to the Hague and Tilghman to a federal judgeship in Pennsylvania.

For a decade the college flourished. Until 1800 the college attracted students from all over Maryland and many from out of state. Eighteen students enrolled from McDowell's old home, Dorchester County.[19] One August day McDowell accompanied sixteen-year-old Robert H. Goldsborough, then in his junior year at St. John's, home to Myrtle Grove in Talbot County, arriving "well, tho' a little fatigued as the Sun became very warm".[20] Spring of 1791 was a season for a great celebration when President George Washington visited the campus. In May 1793 the college publicly examined the highest classes in the mathematical and philosophical schools, giving "convincing proof of the great exertions of the faculty on behalf of those committed to their care."[21] Nonetheless in 1793 the House of Delegates voted to withdraw all appropriations from Maryland's two colleges,

which legislators said educated the sons of the rich at the expense of the less well-to-do, who would really benefit from the establishment of local schools.

In defense of the colleges (St. John's and Washington), Nicholas Carroll, chairman of the St. John's board, questioned the worth of the county schools that the assembly had established in 1723. "No great benefits . . . were derived from the free-schools formerly established," he maintained.[22] (While true that many of those schools did not survive the Revolution, Maryland's determination to have local schools first had appeared as early as 1694, and the first academy, King William's School, had been chartered in 1696). Federalists in the senate were conciliatory in their defense of the colleges, advising delegates, "We shall be at all times willing to concur in any well digested plan for establishing schools, in order to place education within the reach of every citizen of this state and render it more diffusive through all classes of society."[23] Concurrence between the two houses eluded them, however, as a core of moderate Federalists in the senate was replaced by more rigid party members, and a growing representation from Republican Baltimore Town and the western counties gained strength in the lower house. Rancor between the two parties was further exacerbated by differences of opinion over who was the enemy, England or France. In 1801 McDowell, missing his friends and weary of the turmoil, offered his resignation. The trustees persuaded him to stay on as necessary for the college's survival though he knew that it was only a matter of a few years before the college's entire funds would be withdrawn.[24]

In 1806 St. John's lost its year income. It also lost McDowell. Two University



FIGURES 1 AND 2. John McDowell (1751–1820), *left,* 1803 portrait by Robert Field. (Collection of Mrs. John F. Donoho. Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library, New York, No. 4421.) William Tilghman (1756–1827), *right,* correspondent of John McDowell. Although this oil-on-canvas portrait, probably executed in 1806, was once attributed to Rembrandt Peale, it is now believed to be the work of his father, Charles Willson Peale. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.)

of Pennsylvania trustees who had been one class behind him at the College of Philadelphia, William Tilghman and Nathan Levy, persuaded him to become professor of natural philosophy and then third provost of the university.[25] Impressed by his success at St. John's, they hoped that he could infuse the spirit of the old College of Philadelphia into the university.

Before leaving Annapolis McDowell wrote judge Tilghman that he wanted to take Joseph Williams, a black boy, with him to Pennsylvania where by law no slaves could be imported. He wanted to take the servant, McDowell explained, "both on his account, and on my own"; he would manumit him but wished to have him bound for seven years.[26] Joseph went with him to Philadelphia, and later, when Joseph had been left "to his own discretion," McDowell wrote that he would "be glad to hear that he has made good use of the liberty he has."[27] Once in Philadelphia McDowell was guardian for Charles Goldsborough's two daughters while they attended Mrs. Garland's School. Their father wrote them not to become "too fond of pleasure and amusement for country Ladies." He also wisely counseled them how best to write their school reports, saying that "when you begin to write, the Book should be put by, and the composition should be produced from the reflection, and reasoning of your mind."[28]

After three years as provost, McDowell resigned because of ill health. He spent 1811 and the War of 1812 in Franklin County among relatives. He practiced law again, but he missed the company of friends he had enjoyed in Cambridge, Annapolis, and Philadelphia. He remained a confirmed Federalist in Republican Pennsylvania, agreeing with his friend, Congressman Charles Goldsborough, that the United States should not have declared war against Britain. McDowell called it "this wicked and impolitic war." It will—"end in the ruin of our unhappy country," he predicted, "which begins to feel the heavy curse of bad rulers."[29]

The St. John's trustees never forgot him. Encouraged because the legislature had appropriated $1,000 a year to St. John's and $25,000 annually for the support of public schools[30] and heartened by the election of a Federalist governor, they invited McDowell in 1812 to return as president. He declined their first invitation but in 1815 accepted. The Reverend Alexander Contee Magruder, chairman of the board, wrote Bishop James Kemp the good news that "Dr. McDowell has agreed to take charge of the college."[31]

Settled once more in Annapolis, McDowell soon mourned his decision. "I always considered the revival of St. John's from its miserable ruins, as an experiment, the success of which was very doubtful," he wrote. "However, as I promised to give what assistance I could towards it this winter, I consider myself bound to make every exertion I can in so laudable an undertaking, for it is generally felt and confessed that a good Seminary is much wanted in this state. Yet from the Legislature such is the state of parties, we can have no expectation of assistance, though each may confess it ought to be afforded. . . . But there is no contending against time, and the undertaking is now, I fear, too arduous for me." Even more discouraged by February 1816, he wrote, "This place is as different from what it formerly was, such are the deteriorating effects of democracy, that I feel my attachment to it much diminished." In December he concluded, "St. John's seems hopeless."[32] The following fall, by a majority of one, Maryland Federalists elected a governor—the

deciding vote cast by a stalwart brought to the State House on a stretcher. "Such is the spirit of the party that prevails," lamanted McDowell; he regretted also finding it on the college board of visitors, "which ought to be free of its baneful influence." Not only had the assembly done nothing for the college but "the citizens and trustees, who are so immediately and deeply interested in the success of the College, have been very deficient in their exertions to promote it."[33]

McDowell declined as the college languished. As early as July 1816, Magruder realized that McDowell's "advanced age and ill health will prevent him from continuing long in the College."[34] Other trustees, too, were disheartened by the lack of public support for St. Johns, and in 1817 the board in despair tentatively closed it. Thanks to a rallying of alumni support, the college was able to reopen in 1818. In December of that year Federalists elected their last governor, McDowell's friend Charles Goldsborough, who in his inaugural address spoke of the huge state deficit resulting from the late war. He then spoke of "the great advantages once experienced from the Seminary long ago established at the seat of government . . . as particularly deserving of regard." But, he continued, "at this time . . . the funds of the state do not admit of an extension of pecuniary aid to purposes of education, beyond the existing appropriations."[35] Meanwhile McDowell spent some portions of Goldsborough's term at the governor's home, "Shoal Creek," outside Cambridge. From there he wrote Judge Tilghman in March 1819, "When I left Philadelphia I had no intention of spending the winter here. But I have spent it, not unpleasantly, nor altogether unprofitably. I have read a good deal . . . and amused myself by teaching and grounding Mr. Goldsborough's son in the rudiments of the Latin language." In April 1820 he wrote "My time has been fully occupied in teaching and reading, particularly Greek of which I have become fonder than of any other study."[36] In late fall he was at his sister's home in Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, where he died on 22 December 1820.[27]

McDowell's 1815 reappointment had accomplished little toward reorganizing the college, but his second departure aroused graduates to come to the aid of their college. With others, Francis Scott Key and Robert H. Goldsborough organized an effective alumni society by the end of the 1820s. Key and Goldsborough gave orations[38] that echoed passages from McDowell's commencement address to their class in 1796:

> The end of education is to direct the powers of the mind in unfolding themselves, and to assist them in gaining throughout bent & force, to teach it rather how to think . . . than what to think.
>
> To gain a complete knowledge of science, or indeed of any branch of it during the short time, which is spent at a college, is not to be expected. An acquaintance with its general principles & such an improvement of the mental faculties, as will facilitate a further progress in them . . . is all that ought reasonably to be expected.
>
> I shall . . . indulge the pleasing hope, that you will continue to cultivate a general acquaintance with letters, and devote a part of your time to the generous purpose of improving and enlarging your intellectual powers for their own sake. . . . For the liberal student should enrich his understanding by collecting ideas on all subjects, & these acquisitions, which he makes in other pursuits, will often furnish him with useful helps, for the further prosecution of his own particular one.
>
> I hope you will always treat it [the Christian religion] with due reverence &

> attention, that you will make it the subject of fair & candid discussion but never of ridicule & contempt. . . . One branch of moral science is by peculiar necessity entitled to your attention. As we live in a country, where the law ought to govern, & where every citizen is directly or indirectly a legislator, the principles of law & government ought to be well understood. Impressed with a proper idea of the difficulty & importance of legislation, I hope, you will labour to build on the foundation already laid, a super structure of political knowledge, which will render you eminently useful to your country & enable you on all occasions to promote its real interest & happiness.[39]

McDowell, an advocate for a stronger federal government, regretted the antics to which the Federalist party resorted to stay in power. He was also impatient with the stalemates that blocked action in a two-party legislature. As a more democratic Maryland evolved, thanks to a two-party system that forced the sharing of power, he saw old honored ways and institutions like the colleges suffer. But students who had learned from him that they lived "in a country where the law ought to govern, where every citizen is . . . a legislator," were equipped to survive in the new order. Some alumni always sat on the college board of trustees. When the college again received state aid, the trustees decided to allot each year's appropriation to scholarships to worthy candidates selected by Maryland senators, a practice long continued. In the mid-twentieth century the college admitted blacks and then women. In his day McDowell, the Federalist, was a pundit to many and a scholar of national stature. He was a student of the liberal arts and of public affairs until his death.

Notes

I am grateful to Mrs. John F. Donoho for access to the McDowell letters in the Goldsborough Papers at Myrtle Grove and thank my sister, Mary Fletcher, for patiently reading this article for textual corrections and suggestions.

1. Smith to West, 5 May 1790, Maryland Diocesan Archives on deposit at the Maryland Historical Society (hereafter MDA). For Smith's role in the founding of St. John's College, see Charlotte Fletcher, "1784: The Year St. John's College was Named," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 74 (1979): 133–51.

2. Smith to West, 5 May 1790, MDA.

3. Charles Goldsborough to John McDowell, Shoal Creek, 22 November 1790, (xeroxed copy), St. John's College Library.

4. *Biographical Annals of Franklin County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1905), pp. 82, 83.

5. John M. McDowell, "John McDowell, L1.D., First President of St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland; Third Provost of University of Pennsylvania," *Old Mercersburg, by the Woman's Club of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania* New York: Frank Allaben Genealogical Co., 1912), pp. 69–71, and Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640–1840* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1950), pp. 496–97.

6. Alfred Nevin, *Churches of the Valley, and Historical Sketch of the Old Presbyterian Con-*

gregations of Cumberland and Franklin Counties in Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: James H. Wilson, 1852), p. 109.

7. William Buell Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (9 vols; New York: Carter, 1857–69), 3: 188.

8. Bureau of Land Affairs, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, *Warrant 81* (survey of 23 acres, 27 May 1767; survey of 158 acres, 17 March 1767).

9. Nevin, *Churches of the Valley,* pp. 111, 112.

10. University of Pennsylvania, *Biographical Catalogue for the Matriculates of the College* (Philadelphia, 1894), p. 13, and Thomas Harrison Montgomery, *A History of the University of Pennsylvania from its Foundation to A.D. 1779* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs, 1900), p. 544. Between 1771 and 1774 Montgomery was rector of St. Anne's Church in Annapolis.

11. See University of Pennsylvania, *Minutes of the Trustees of the College, Academy and Charitable Schools, 1749–1851;* 33, University of Pennsylvania, *Biographical Catalogue,* pp. 17–18; and *Pennsylvania Series, Fifth Series* (8 vols.; Harrisburg, Pa, 1906), 6:271, 281, 316.

12. See McDowell, "John McDowell," passim.

13. *Maryland Gazette,* 10 May 1786.

14. St. John's College, *Minutes of the Board of Visitors and Governors, 1786–1825,* 19 November 1790, St. John's College Archives (hereafter St. JCA), on deposit at Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.

15. John McDowell to William McDowell, 4 September 1789, Gratz Collection, case 71, box 14, historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter HSP).

16. Charles Goldsborough (congressman and governor); John Henry (U.S. Senator and governor); Nicholas Hammond (Constitution ratification convention); William Hindman (U.S. senator); William Vans Murray (congressman and ambassador to the Hague); and Wiliam Tilghman (chief judge, third judicial circuit).

17. See, for example, Gov. John Henry, *Letters and Papers* (Baltimore: George W. King Printing, 1904), pp. 26–27.

18. Edward Papenfuse, et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789* (2 vols.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979–1985), 1:396–97, 445; 2:834.

19. They were Thomas Hayward, Thomas Shaw, Henry Steele, Hall Harris, Christopher Harrison, Joseph Richardson, Howes Goldsborough, William Lockerman, William Shaw, William Sanders, John Sanders, Henry Maynadier, John G. Harrison, Robert Goldsborough, William Goldsborough, J. Campbell Henry, and John Shaw; see St. John's College, *Matriculation Book, 1789–1860.*

20. Judge Robert Goldsborough to Charles Goldsborough, 27 August 1795, MDA.

21. *Maryland Gazette,* 23 May 1793.

22. *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate . . . November Session 1793,* p. 42; *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates . . . November 1793* (hereafter *JHD*), p. 120. For history of the county schools, see Charlotte Fletcher, "King Williams' School and the College of William and Mary," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 78 (1983): 118–28; "King William's School Plans to Become a College," ibid., 80 (1985): 157–66; and "King William's School Survives the Revolution," ibid., 81 (1986): 210–21.

23. *JHD* (1794), p. 84.

24. Tench Francis Tilghman, *The Early History of St. John's College in Annapolis* (Annapolis, MD.: St. John's College Press, 1984), pp. 13–33.

25. McDowell to Tilghman, 8, 16, 22 December and 9 March 1806, Tilghman Papers, box 17, HSP.

26. Manumission of Joseph Williams, Gratz Collection, ABC, HSP; McDowell to William Tilghman, 9 March 1807, Tilghman Papers, box 17, HSP.

27. McDowell to Rev. William Rogers, 20 December 1810, #671, University of Pennsylvania Guide; McDowell to Rogers, 30 January 1811, Gratz Collection, case 7, box 14, HSP.

28. Charles Goldsborough to Elizabeth and Anna Maria Goldsborough, 1 April and 14 May 1809, John Leeds Bozman Papers, Library of Congress.

29. McDowell to William Tilghman, 2 April 1813, Tilghman Papers, box 20, HSP.

30. Baltimore *Niles Weekly Register,* 18 January 1811.

31. Magruder to Kemp, 29 June 1815, MDA. The University of Pennsylvania conferred an honorary doctor of laws degree on McDowell in 1807. Kemp was offered the presidency of St. John's in 1807, but he refused, choosing instead to head an academy in Cambridge. See Kemp to John Trippe, 13 March 1807, ibid.

32. McDowell to William Tilghman, 25 December 1815 and 15 February 1816, Tilghman Papers, box 22, HSP; McDowell to Robert Henry Goldsborough, 27 December 1816, Goldsborough Papers, Myrtle Grove.

33. McDowell to William Tilghman 25 December 1815 and 15 February 1816, Tilghman Papers, box 22, HSP.

34. Magruder to [?] 11 July 1816, MDA.

35. Gov. Charles Goldsborough, *Executive Letter Book 1819–34,* pp. 47–48, Maryland State Archives.

36. McDowell to William Tilghman, 23 March 1819 and 6 April 1828, Tilghman Papers, box 24, HSP. See also Robert H. Goldsborough to William Hemsley, 8 January 1820, Goldsborough Papers, Myrtle Grove: "My sons are now with Dr. McDowell and have been at Shoal Creek for a week."

37. McDowell left an estate worth $50,000 to brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces, and his scholarly books to the University of Pennsylvania, where one volume survives in the rare book room: Henry Pemberton, *A View of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy* (London, 1728).

38. See Francis Scott Key, *A Discourse on Education Delivered in St. Anne's Church, Annapolis, After the Commencement of St. John's College, February 22d, 1817* (Annapolis: Jonas Green, 1827), pp. 33, 34, and Robert Henry Goldsborough, *Address Delivered Before the Alumni of St. John's College at the Annual Commencement on the 22d February, 1836* (Annapolis: Jonas Green, 1836).

39. John McDowell, *Commencement Address to Class of 1796,* St. JCA.

Defending Baltimore in the War of 1812: Two Sidelights

SCOTT S. SHEADS

I. The 1813 Traverse Wall: Preparing for Attack at Fort McHenry

With the arrival of spring weather in 1813, a British naval squadron under the command of Rear Admiral George Cockburn sailed up the Chesapeake Bay, alarming Marylanders and Virginians and threatening the security of the city of Baltimore. This desultory excursion enabled citizens of the city to acquire much-needed financial and military assistance in their effort to strengthen Baltimore's defenses. On 13 March 1813 Major General Samuel Smith, commander of the Third Division of the Maryland militia, received authorization from Governor Levin Winder "To take the earliest opportunity of making the necessary arrangements of the militia for the protection of the Port of Baltimore."[1]

Samuel Smith, a popular Revolutionary War hero and United States senator at the age of sixty-one, lost no time in improving the defenses of Baltimore—especially the keystone of the city's defense, Fort McHenry. Following his March 18 inspection of the fort, Smith requested the assistance of an engineer from the war department to make recommendations and improvements.[2] Soon thereafter, twenty-eight-year-old Colonel Joseph G. Swift drafted a report to Major Lloyd Beall, the elderly commander of Fort McHenry.[3] Swift ordered the building of a platform for the two lower gun (water) batteries, filling in the rampart embrasures in the fort's bastions, and digging a five-foot-high counterscarp (dry moat and glacis) around the fort to give infantry troops cover from enfilading enemy fire (see figure 1). Swift also directed Beall to

> Erect a Traverse inside the Fort in front of the gate-way, of brick, and also one in front of the magazine door, 12 feet long and 8 feet thick at the base, sloping two inches to each foot in height, the traverse in front of the magazine door, as high as the top of the window over the door.[4]

In 1813 the "gate-way" or sally port was probably a simple uncovered passageway (measuring thirty-three feet long and thirteen feet wide) through the ramparts, the interior face of the walls rising vertically and probably brick-faced. Two double-pine gates were situated at either end.[5] The idea of erecting an inside traverse wall in front of the sally port may have originated from Smith's observation

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that the pine gates "may be knocked down by a few strokes of the ax."[6] A traverse wall would "impede the progress of enfilading artillery fire," as reported to the Secretary of War Decius Wadsworth on 13 April 1813. Wadsworth, it seems, was acting as an engineer in addition to his official position as chief ordnance officer of the War Department.

> The Gate which opens towards the [water] battery is too much exposed, and a resolute Enemy getting possession of the Battery and turning some of the guns against the Gate, might open a passage so as to enter the Fort. . . . It would be better I conceive to construct before the Gate-way a Work of Earth in the nature of a Ravelin of sufficient height completely to protect and cover the Gate.[7]

Even as civilian work details began construction of the traverse walls, the British made an appearance in the Patapsco River on 16 April, sending Baltimore into a state of alarm. The *Niles Weekly Register* reported that

> Between 11 and 12 o'clock, the alarm guns were fired, and this city was thrown into great bustle and apparent confusion [during which] . . . many women and children have been sent away.[8]

The enemy reconnoiter afforded an ample view of the harbor fortifications, especially of the French thirty-six-pounder naval guns previously mounted in the outer (water) batteries.[9] Baltimore militia forces as well as federal garrison troops provided evidence of the city's preparations. The British sally left General Smith worried. Since his authority was limited to the militia forces, he stated his concern for the federal fort in a letter to the secretary of war:

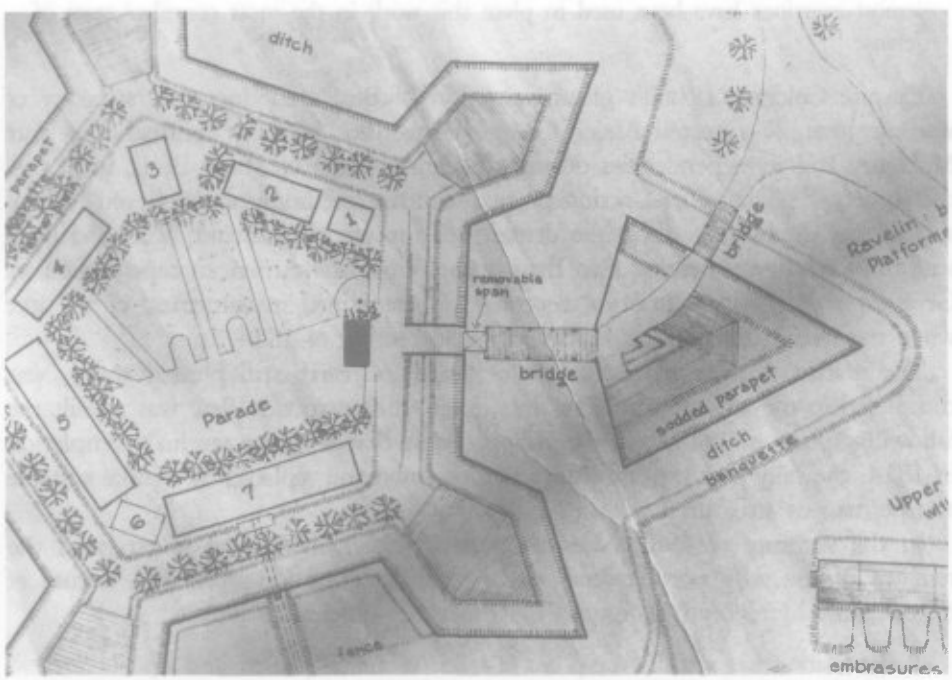

FIGURE 1. Detail of National Park Service map of the Star Fort sally port, the dark block showing the location of the 1813 traverse wall and the location of the triangular-shaped ravelin.

> Major Beall is unwilling to incommode his own men, and therefore declines admitting infantry [militia] with the fort. . . . [H]e has [only] fifty [regulars] and [could] accomodate 100 militia artillery men. His soldiers have wives and children. . . . Do you really believe that a gentleman of nearly 60 years of age, sorely affected with the gout and a young inexperienced officer of 20 is equal to the defenses of such a post[?] . . . I must tell you in the spirit of a friend that you take upon yourself a responsibility of a very serious nature.[10]

On 26 April Colonel Wadsworth in company with Smith inspected the gun batteries at the fort. Wadsworth reiterated the need for a more permanent structure in the form of a ravelin outside and in front of the sally port, even as the traverse walls were being completed. Afterward, Wadsworth summed up his opinion that a "great deal of unnecessary alarm seems to prevail here. . . . There is hardly any seaport in the United States which may more severely bid defiance to the attempt of the enemy."[11]

Two weeks after their appearance on 16 April the British departed, and on 6 May the war department, responding to Smith's earlier request, sent Colonel Abrams Y. Nicholl, newly appointed inspector general of the army, to command the fort proper, temporarily superceding Major Beall.[12] Nearly two weeks later Nicholl addressed a report to Major Charles K. Gardner, assistant adjutant general of the army:

> Sir, I have the honor to state . . . that in compliance with instructions, from Colonel Swift of the Corps of Engineers, Major Beall has . . . erected a traverse inside the fort in front of the gate-way and one in front of the [powder] magazine. . . . In justice to Major Beall, I think it my duty to state that his company in appearance, subordination, and discipline is equal to any in the regiment [of artillerists], and that his utmost exertions have been used to place this work in the most complete state of defense.[13]

Despite Colonel Nicholl's gleaming report of Beall's conduct, the secretary of war on June 27 directed Major George Armistead "to take command of Fort McHenry and its dependencies during the indisposition of Major Beall, until further orders."[14] This official action pleased Smith exceedingly and relieved him of any further doubts regarding the defenses of the fort. Armistead, who had been sent to Washington bearing two British flags from the American capture of Fort George on the Niagara frontier, accepted. He remained in command of the fort when the British returned to Baltimore in September of 1814.

The ravelin, a triangular structure of brick and earth still present today, was completed in the summer of 1813, but due to a construction flaw was rebuilt the following spring of 1814.[15] It is highly probable that with the ravelin's completion in 1814, the sally port traverse wall was torn down and replaced by a more suitable and permanent structure.

In the summer of 1982 National Park Service archeologists investigated the remains of the sally port traverse wall—a critical but long-forgotten feature of historic Fort McHenry (see figure 2). Researchers concluded that

> the foundation was actually composed of a bed of mortar poured into a pit (12′ × 8′) which had been dug into the sandy subsoil. Objects lying in the 1813 mortar

FIGURE 2. Eastern end of 1813 traverse wall foundation from the roof of the sally port. Mortar base with inserted stone slab lies in center of photo. (Photo by author.)

bed included (poultry) bones and a fragmentary grey musket flint. A dressed sandstone (?) slab stood in a rectangular slot cut into the southwest quadrant of the foundation. Although the stone slab appeared to be of a contemporaneous date with the mortar base, its function was not immediately obvious; perhaps it provided a solid stone core for the brick traverse.

The traverse wall excavation was part of a project to rebuild the fort's sally-port flooring to its c. 1815–44 brick pavement. Discovery of the traverse wall greatly enhanced our knowledge of the fort's early architectural history and offered a rare

FIGURE 3. Looking toward the interior of the Star Fort from the sally port. Utility cones outline the approximate twelve-by-eight-foot site of traverse wall. (Photo by author.)

glimpse of Fort McHenry as it prepared to defend itself and the city known as "the prize of the Chesapeake."

II. Federal Hill Battery: Sailing Master Leonard Hall, U.S.N., Commanding, 1814

During the bombardment of Fort McHenry on 13–14 September 1814 by British naval forces, a one-gun battery commanded by Sailing Master Leonard Hall of the United States Sloop of War *Ontario* was stationed on Federal Hill. Although this battery never achieved the celebrated acclaim nor performed the service of other defensive forces, Hall nevertheless stood by his battery during Baltimore's most climactic period during the War of 1812.

Little is known of this young officer's life, though during the bombardment a newspaper correspondent, who had befriended the seaman, later wrote that

> Mr. Hall, a native of New Hampshire, had endured from boyhood, in almost every clime, the hardships of a sailor's life. Having been master of a ship from the age of 17, he had embraced a wide species of information, calculated in times like the present to render him invaluable.[16]

Mr. Hall's employment had been in the merchant marine before securing a position as first officer aboard Captain John Gavets' command of the Baltimore privateer *Highflyer* during the summer of 1812.[17] In February of 1813, Hall was appointed commander of the privateer *Wasp* at Baltimore but was unable to clear port because of the British blockade of the Chesapeake Bay.[18] On 7 September 1813, he secured a warrant officer's position as sailing master and was ordered to the U.S. sloop of war *Ontario*.[19]

Soon after the *Ontario* was launched at Fell's Point on 24 November 1813, the arrival of British warships the following spring prevented her from clearing the Chesapeake. Her crew, therefore, was transferred to the United States Chesapeake Flotilla under Commodore Joshua Barney.[20] Hall was left in charge with a guard of U.S. Marines while the *Ontario* lay at anchor near the naval yard of its designer and builder, Thomas Kemp.[21]

The arrival of the British fleet in the Patapsco River would be clearly visible from Federal Hill, a popular site even then for viewing the city and the water approaches. Located on top was the late Captain David Porter's telegraph observatory, built in 1797; a powder magazine and a keeper's house.[22] The keeper of the observatory, Daniel Schwartsauer, was a captain in the 27th Regiment, Maryland Volunteer Infantry.[23] In 1813, a six-pounder field gun was situated on Federal Hill to be fired as a signal of approaching enemy ships.

On 12 September 1814, this one-gun battery performed its assigned duty when it fired three shots in quick succession to inform the citizenry that the British had landed at North Point, twelve miles below the city.[24] On the following morning, 13 September, British warships had aligned their vessels within two miles of Fort McHenry and began the bombardment, continuing throughout the day and into the stormy night. An observer wrote:

> The attack on Fort McHenry, by nearly the whole British fleet was distinctly seen from Federal Hill and from the tops of Houses which were covered with men, women and children.[25]

The number of seamen, if any, who may have defended Federal Hill is unknown. It is apparent that Sailing Master Hall may have been the sole artillerist that night upon the hill. The *Baltimore Patriot* stated afterward:

> On the night of the bombardment, not withstanding his extreme indisposition bro't on by incessant labor and indifference to the symptoms of approaching illness, he insisted on remaining at the battery formed by himself on Federal Hill.[26]

Although the battery was never brought into actual service, it undoubtedly would have served as an important rear-defense redoubt if the naval attack on Fort McHenry had succeeded. Fortunately for Baltimore it failed, and on 17 September the British fleet weighed anchor and sailed down the Chesapeake Bay. Shortly thereafter, on 3 October, the commanding officer of the *Ontario* addressed a letter to Secretary of the Navy William Jones.

> It is with deep regret that I inform you of the death of Sailing Master Leonard Hall of the *Ontario,* who departed this life a few days since (on the 22nd), after a short illness, occasioned by his excersions and nightly exposure, during the late preparation in the defense of Baltimore.[27]

Today no one knows where Leonard Hall lies buried. Nonetheless, his readiness to meet the enemy places him among those defenders of Baltimore who 175 years ago hastened to the call of duty.

Notes

1. Winder to Smith, 13 March 1813, Samuel Smith Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereafter DLC).
2. Smith to Armstrong, 18 March 1813, ibid.
3. Swift to Beall, 27 March 1813, Records of War Department, RG 77, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter DNA).
4. Ibid.
5. Erwin Thompson and Robert Newcomb, *Historic Structures Report* (Baltimore: Fort McHenry National Monument, National Park Service, 1974).
6. Smith to Armstrong, 18 March 1813, Smith Papers, DLC.
7. Wadsworth to Armstrong, 18 March 1813, Smith Papers, DLC.
8. Baltimore *Niles Weekly Register,* 16 April 1813.
9. The French thirty-six pounder (denotes weight of ball) naval guns were obtained from the French man-of-war *L'Eole,* abandoned in Baltimore in 1806. The borrowed guns totaled fifty-six, of which twenty-eight were eighteen pounders. See also Beall to Armstrong, 11 March 1813, "Letters Received, Secretary of War," RG 107, M-221, Roll 50, DNA.
10. Smith to Armstrong, 21 April 1813, Smith Papers, DLC.

11. Wadsworth to Armstrong, 26 April 1813, "Letters Received, Secretary of War," RG 107, M-221, Roll 50, DNA.

12. Smith to Armstrong, 6 May 1813, Smith Papers, DLC.

13. Nicholl to Gardner, 19 May 1813, "Letters Received, Office of the Adjutant General," RG 107, M-566, Roll 29, DNA.

14. Armstrong to Armistead, 27 June 1813, "Letters Sent, Secretary of War," RG 107, DNA.

15. Wadsworth to Armistead, 12 February 1814, and Armistead to Wadsworth, 15 February 1814, Records, War Department, RG 156 and 107, DNA.

16. *Baltimore Patriot,* 24 September 1814.

17. John P. Cranwell and William B. Crane, *Men of Marque,* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1940), p. 75.

18. Ibid., pp. 119–20.

19. "Abstracts of Service Records of Naval Officers," RG 24, M-330, Roll 3, DNA.

20. William Jones to Charles Ridgely, 12 April 1814, "Letters Sent, Secretary of the Navy to Officers," Record Group 45, M-148, Roll 11, DNA.

21. Both the *Ontario* and the U.S.S. *Erie* were built by Kemp under contract with the U.S. Navy.

22. Captain Porter was the father of Commodore David Porter of 1812 fame. The elder died in 1808.

23. *Baltimore City Directory, 1813–1814.*

24. Brigade Orders, Samuel Smith, 13 April 1813, Smith Papers, DLC.

25. *Salem* (Massachusetts) *Gazette,* 27 September 1814.

26. *Baltimore Patriot,* 24 September 1814.

27. Robert Spence to William Jones, 3 October 1814, "Letters Received, Secretary of the Navy from Commanders," Record Group 45, M-147, DNA.

"This Present Time of Alarm": Baltimoreans Prepare for Invasion

BARBARA K. WEEKS

> If Baltimore fell before the combined attack, winter quarters would be secured to the enemy, and a new base for future military operations obtained—lawless lust would riot in our houses, and armed murder revel in our streets upon the spoils of blood—a different complexion would be given to the war, and though no doubt to the final result could be felt, what desolation and sufferings would have fallen upon our people.[1]

When the Reverend J. D. McCabe spoke these words in 1858, at an anniversary service forty-four years after the Battle of Baltimore, he recalled the fears the population of Baltimore felt as the British threatened to invade the city. Naturally, the minister and his fellow citizens had worried about the progress of the war if the British were to gain a foothold in the country's third largest city. But the far more powerful fear was the one for life and property. News of burning, vandalism, and destruction of towns by British troops filtered into the city ahead of the enemy's forces, arousing Baltimoreans to fear a similar treatment. Alarmed by the prospect of an enemy invasion and its impact on their lives, homes, possessions, and businesses, residents reacted in a variety of ways. They took their valuables and fled the city in panic, rallied to construct fortifications, contributed cash and goods to equip the militia, and enlisted in various regiments to defend the city. Accounts of the Battle of Baltimore often overlook the civilian reaction. This essay will therefore bring to light the fears and responses of Baltimoreans as revealed in their letters and other communications.

Baltimoreans had lived with the threat of invasion for over a year before the enemy finally attacked. In early 1813, a British squadron had established a permanent base in the Chesapeake Bay on Tangier Island. From this vantage point its ships sailed up the Patapsco River to Baltimore to blockade the city and threaten it with invasion on several occasions during that spring and summer. With Baltimore cut off from the rest of the world's commerce, businesses closed, the supply of goods dwindled, merchants lost money, and sailors were landlocked. In February 1813, news of the blockade and its effect on local business and prices appeared in a letter from A. Robinson to James McHenry:

> Our ports have been Blockaded for sometime past, sugar has got up to 16 dolls. per ct. For good muscavado[2] therefore, John & I have concluded to defer purchasing for sometime, as we think when the British goes {*sic*} out of our Bay, Sugar will fall. At

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present, they let no vessel come in or go out. They have caught a number bound to & returning from France; they will not suffer neutrals to pass.[3]

Besides fueling inflation and depressing commerce, the British presence had other effects on the people of Baltimore. Those citizens who could afford it packed many of their belongings and shipped them out of town. Others sent wives and children to the country homes of friends or family. This exodus raised the proportion of males and less affluent families. In May 1813, Lydia Hollingsworth, daughter of a prominent Baltimore merchant, wrote to her cousin in Elkton describing the panic in Baltimore:

Those [rumors] with regard to the enemy's landing were altogether without foundation, but you can perhaps conceive, the state of mind which predominated. All who could remove their effects, either hurried them off; or put them in trunks, to be sent away as speedily as possible. It really produced a melancholy sight; the men running with great alacrity which did them honor, the women in extreme agitation, for those exposed at North Point, and fearing a powerful foe to destroy them. Happily it did not long continue, and we felt assured it was false! But the impression made by it was not to be obliterated Cousin; and the dry goods merchants hired Teams and sent their property into the inland Towns, some stores are actually empty; and household and other furniture was continually going day and night to a place of security. There seemed at first a panic through the city; then a decided resolution to save what conveniently could be done, from a future attack.[4]

Yet not everyone packed up his valuables and fled in panic during the spring of 1813. Activity in town centered on improvements to its defenses, and some people stayed to work. The city ordered street construction necessary to its defense. A bill for one such improvement was submitted to the Committee of Supplies "for repairs and leveling the road at the Head of Dulany Street [now East Baltimore Street] Hampstead Hill toward North Point making it passable for the Artillery, Militia, etc." A charge of $65.49 was incurred for 31½ days of hands, horse carts, and superintending.[5]

While workmen cleared the way for militia and artillery, these units drilled and guarded potential points of attack. David Hoffman, a Baltimore attorney, wrote to Virgil Maxcy in April 1813:

There is a vast deal of *parade* the military *constantly* out and on the watch day and night. . . . All the companies in the city have to take their turn to perform duty at the *fort,* North Point, etc. They stay 24 hours and are then relieved by other companies.[6]

Not all citizens felt satisfied that preparations were adequate. After all, the federal government had virtually no supplies, forces, or funds to offer; the city was essentially responsible for its own defense. Moreover, conflict between the two political parties, Federalists and Republicans, undermined the front Baltimore could present to the enemy. With British ships lying close to a divided and poorly defended city, many inhabitants grew anxious at what the summer might bring. As Hoffman explained:

This city has become *intolerable,* for in proportion to the approximation of the enemy,

> is the increase of party rancor, and instead of unanimity in energetic opposition to the enemy, there appears to be the utmost apathy as to efficient matters; much *form* and *show* and no *spirit* except in party violence and animosity. . . . The only way in which we can oppose the enemy appears to be entirely overlooked viz. on the water. We have no *fortifications,* no gun boats, no sloops of war, no barges, nothing which could protect the city from bombardment. The infantry and cavalry may be ever so well disciplined, and ever so vigilant they still can be of no use, because the enemy have no intention of *landing*.[7]

In the fall of 1813 the British left the Chesapeake to winter in the West Indies, and with the fleet went immediate fears of invasion and some of the tension and gloom that had prevailed earlier. In January 1814 Debby Cochran wrote to her sister Ruth Hollingsworth, "As yet, it is true we have felt but little of the war. Some articles to be sure are very high. . . ."[8] A month later, a cousin reported a festive attitude in the city. "There is now among us a Gallant Hero, Commodore Perry!", Lydia Hollingsworth wrote Ruth. "The public spirit of Baltimore seems to have awakened to the Beams of his Glory, and shone forth yesterday in a Dinner to him A Large Company, and an excellent repast, with splendid decorations for the occasion."[9]

This respite from fear ended in the spring of 1814. On 13 April the British sailed back up the bay toward Annapolis and Baltimore,[10] where the population resumed its precautions against attack. In July Mrs. M. B. Forman noted that she had "sent our trunks containing [silver] plate, linen, and valuables to Middletown, Delaware to care of Joseph Roberts, Merchant" and despatched her furniture to a Mr. Morgan's.[11] At the same time George Adam of Baltimore informed Stephen Hollingsworth in Elkton that the threat was increasing. He wrote:

> I am sorry to give you the following unpleasant information, there was a letter received in Town yesterday from a respectable merchant in Norfolk stating that, four seventy-fours, and five frigates had arrived in the Bay, and another letter mentions that . . . Captain Barrie said he expected, that Sir Thomas Pieton would soon arrive in the Chesapeake with 12,000 men.[12]

As they had the year before, Baltimoreans who had a choice left the city for safer quarters in the country. In an undated letter from her husband, Eliza Grundy Gibson was asked, "Had you better not go to Bolton. I think it would comfort me much"[13] (Eliza's husband referred to his father-in-law's country home located in the area in Bolton Hill, now bounded by Hoffman Street, Park Avenue, Preston Street, and Linden Avenue). So far from the city, Eliza would be safe from assault if the enemy invaded.

Those who chose to leave town may have anticipated a long siege with leisure time in the country while awaiting news of the enemy's advances. One Baltimore businessman proposed an activity to fill the time:

> Persons Retiring from the City to the Country or adjacent Woods can be furnished with Books in almost every department of Reading by making application at Robinson's Circulating Library, 96 Market street.[14]

Indeed, any number of volumes could be leased for one month by leaving a deposit. Robinson's collection of 7,000 books included history, voyages, travels,

belles lettres, philosophy, and a large selection of novels and romances, some of which were in French.

On 24 August the British captured and burned Washington, and it was painfully clear that the same fate could befall Baltimore. The previous day, Mayor Edward Johnson had called an assembly of Baltimore citizens who resolved to hold meetings in each of the city's eight wards to "form a general Committee of Vigilance and Safety during the present time of alarm."[15] Prominent citizens from every ward and the western and eastern precincts would organize Baltimore's defense. Meeting daily, the committee directed a massive effort to mobilize citizens and raise desperately needed money. It soon asked inhabitants to deposit all available wheel barrows, pick axes, spades, and shovels at the courthouse in the 3rd ward, at the riding school in the 7th ward, at Centre Market in the 5th ward, and the Market House in Fells Point.[16] The committee next called for residents of the outlying areas to join the townspeople in digging fortifications. By sectioning the city into four quarters, it was convenient to summon those exempt from militia duty and free people of color from each section to work in designated areas. Owners of slaves were requested to send them to work.[17] (Exempt from militia duty, blacks, both slave and free, provided an effective work force). On 30 August committee members informed Major General Samuel Smith, commander of the city's defenses, that

> from the zeal manifested in the erection of works of defence as directed they feel great pleasure in assuring him that if he should deem it necessary to order the extension of these or the erection of other works, that they will be promptly undertaken. . . .[18]

While improvements to the fortifications progressed, troops from neighboring states marched into Baltimore to support the Maryland militia. Recruiting efforts continued all summer but reflected increasing desperation as the enemy threat grew. The *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser* advertised several times in July and August:

> To Reputable Young Men will be given a bounty of Forty Dollars and 160 Acres of Land for enlisting in the 3rd Regiment of Artillery by applying to George Armistead, Fort McHenry.[19]

By August the committee must have felt especially discouraged about the city's ability to defend itself. It published the following notice:

> Elderly men who are able to carry a firelock, and willing to render a last service to their country & posterity; are requested to meet at the Court House at 11 o'clock to-morrow, to form a company and be prepared to march in conjunction with the troops expected to move against the enemy.[20]

Quarters, rations, and other supplies were needed for these troops. With Baltimore blockaded and lacking many supplies for its own population, the committee circulated handbills requesting the people of Maryland and neighboring states to bring useful supplies to the city for sale.[21] One who stepped forward was the architect Robert Cary Long, who offered whatever he and the thirty carpenters in his employ could provide. On 1 September the committee requested Long to "erect

temporary Shed Barracks in convenient situations for accommodation of the Troops."[22] Supplying food for the troops was no doubt simpler. The committee provided three of its members to "aid Mr. Browner in converting the flour into bread for the Troops." Biscuit-baker Francis Bolgiana also baked bread at his shop on South Frederick Street.[23] The flour required for bread was readily available; western Maryland farmers regularly transported their grain to Baltimore for milling. Committee members would supply additional provisions for the troops from the meals cooked for their families.

By the end of August, Baltimore had become a "gloomy and distressing place."[24] Many women and children had been removed out of town. The Committee of Vigilance and Safety continued to call the citizens and country residents daily to complete improvements at Forts McHenry, Babcock, and Covington, on the eastern outskirts of the city at Hampstead Hill, and on the road to North Point. In addition to volunteer labor, the committee recognized that it would have to authorize hiring 150 laborers at one dollar per day, or whatever terms were best, in order to speed the completion of Camp Look Out, the circular battery behind Camp Babcock.[25]

A desperate attempt to complete the fortifications of the city continued into the second week of September. Inhabitants of the various sections of the city were required, no longer requested, to report for work at their designated sites. The newspaper advised that:

> The Patriotic Ladies of the city have now an opportunity of rendering assistance to their counttymen in arms by sending old linen or muslin to Mr. Gatchel at the city Hospital for the benefit of those who (in case of an engagement) may be wounded. The sooner these things are received the better.[26]

Some aspects of life were relatively unaffected by the impending battle. To the dismay of children, who had remained in town or were expected to return, many schools advertised that classes would begin as usual on 1 or 4 September. One school chose an inauspicious date to open:

> Madame[s] Decourt & Baconais respectfully inform their patrons & the public that their Academy will not be opened till Monday, the 12th inst. This postponement of a week beyond their usual time has been occasioned by the peculiar situation of the city which will prevent an earlier return of many of their pupils.[27]

Finally there was no more time for preparations. The city would face the British with the defenses that were in place. Those residents who remained in town were not so dramatically affected by the battle at North Point, about fourteen miles from the center of the city, as they were by the bombing of Fort McHenry. The sounds, sights, and vibrations experienced in their homes left them with fears they would never forget. Debby Cochran wrote to Ruth Tobin:

> Nearly half past four in the morning; our Alarm Gun's were fired at twenty minutes past twelve, since then the Bells ring drums beating the Houses generally lighted, we have all been up since that period, we know not the hour when we may be attacked. . . . [T]he City looks almost deserted, some moments I feel very resolute,

> the next quite the reverse; God only knows what the event will be, I put my trust in Him, and I fervently trust He will protect us.[28]

The writer, who moved out of town one mile to stay with Mr. Bernabeau, the Spanish consul, continued:

> The Bombing still increased, half past tenn we retired, I can not say to sleep. Entering my Chambers Mrs. B. and I discovered a considerable light, which we supposed the Fort; we called Mr. B. who said it was not quite in that direction, we have not yet been able to say what it was, but Oh my dear Ruth such an other night I never experienced, from one till three one incessant firing, we all thought it impossible that the Fort could hold out; the flashes from the bombs shone in three different parts of my Chamber, it was like continued flashes of lightening. As to my feelings it is impossible to describe them, I thought we must all inevitably go.[29]

The spectacle of the bombardment at the fort was one that evoked curiosity as well as terror. James Ellicott of Baltimore wrote his cousin Joseph Ellicott in Battavia, New York, the morning after the attack:

> The bombardment of the fort was a scene interesting, terrible and grand. During the whole of last night we were able from the tops of the houses in town to trace every rocket and shell from the time it left the mortar until it struck or exploded in the air.[30]

Afterward Baltimoreans continued to contribute whatever was needed. As soon as the bombardment ended, women rushed food and other supplies to their relatives who were still on duty at Fort McHenry. Thomas Forman reported to his wife:

> To see tender females trudging into forts and trenches some carrying baskets others jugs and towels, some coffee pots to administer to the comforts of their dear friends and relatives could not fail to excite the tear of sensibility.[31]

Ellicott continued to describe the situation in Baltimore:

> The city ever since the appearance of the enemy has been in the greatest confusion and alarm. Many have removed their families and goods, and almost every store shut up; but I hope now to see more tranquility, and that we may again resume our usual business without further molestations, tho' I am not without strong fear that they will again return as soon as they secure reinforcements.[32]

That fear was common to most of the inhabitants of the city. Lydia Hollingsworth wrote to her aunt on 30 September, "I can not think it is ended, but feel persuaded we shall again be attacked."[33] By this time she could have felt more at ease. Most of the enemy vessels had left the bay by mid-October, with only a few ships left to watch for privateers returning to home port. Lydia later wrote to her cousin:

> We are a garrisoned town; and the military influence seems to prevail. They continue laboring at the defences (lest the British should return) which is highly proper; and an other fort has been chalked out by Genl. Scott. . . . I hope we are safe for this winter in our City, we have brought no things home, but flannel, and a

chamber carpet, and live very plain yet a while, old carpets, very little plate, and no apology, as it is the case almost everywhere.[34]

The citizens of Baltimore were not alone in thinking the enemy would return. The Committee of Vigilance and Safety continued to work on fortifications—making the magazine at Fort McHenry bombproof; completing the works on Chinquepin Hill; completing the floors at Camp Look Out; and procuring sufficient guns, balls, and powder for the fort. Orders for labor on various defenses continued to be issued until December, despite the withdrawal of most enemy ships from the bay. By this time, small enemy vessels only occasionally sailed north of Annapolis "intercepting supplies essential to the wants and safety of the city."[35]

Although supplies were reportedly limited and sold at a premium throughout the fall of 1814, business returned to a semblance of normal shortly after the British retreated. Commercial advertisements in the newspaper regained their prebattle frequency by the end of September.

Following the defeat of the British at New Orleans in January 1815 a lightheartedness returned to Baltimore for the first time in nearly two years. Lydia Hollingsworth wrote her cousin in February:

> {I}t may seem strange to you that Baltimore should be gay. Yet it is true; almost to dissipation! dinners on dinners, parties on parties! the military the Belles and Strangers unite in producing it. Ever since Christmas there has been a round of frolic kept up. Very many Private dancing parties . . . {S}ome of the Belles more french in their dress and manners than here to fore.[36]

Finally there was no need to flee the city with valuable possessions or to labor on the construction of defenses. There was no need to do without. With the blockade removed, shops contained their usual supply of goods. After living with the anticipation of enemy invasion followed by the reality of attack, Baltimoreans at last were able to live without fear.

Notes

1. J. D. McCabe, *Substance of a Discourse in St. Stephen's Church, September 12, 1858, Before the Old Defenders of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Jos. Robinson, 1858), p. 7.
2. Raw or unrefined sugar obtained from the juice of sugar cane by evaporating and draining off the molasses.
3. Robinson to McHenry, 23 February 1813, War of 1812 Collection, Ms. 1846, MdHS.
4. Hollingsworth to Tobin, 18 May 1813, Hollingsworth Letters, Ms. 1849, MdHS.
5. 17 April 1813, War of 1812 Collection, Ms. 1846, MdHS.
6. Hoffman to Maxcy, 23 April 1813, ibid.
7. Hoffman to Maxcy, 17 April 1813, ibid.
8. Cochran to Hollingsworth, 6 January 1814, Hollingsworth Letters, Ms. 1849, MdHS.
9. Hollingsworth to Hollingsworth, 2 February 1814, ibid.

10. For an overview see Frank A. Cassell, "Baltimore in 1813: A Study of Urban Defense in the War of 1812," *Military Affairs,* 33 (1969): 349.

11. Diary of Mrs. M. B. Forman, 11 July and 13 July 1814, Mary Callender Forman Papers, Ms. 1779, MdHS.

12. Adam to Hollingsworth, 16 July 1814, Hollingsworth Papers, Ms. 1849, MdHS.

13. Grundy to Grundy, undated, Eliza E. Grundy Gibson Correspondance, Ms. 1294, MdHS.

14. Baltimore *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser,* 2 September 1814.

15. Minute Book of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety, Ms. 1846, MdHS, p. 1.

16. Ibid., p. 9.

17. Ibid., p. 10.

18. Ibid., p. 14.

19. *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser,* 18 July and 19 August 1814.

20. Ibid., 27 August 1814.

21. Minute Book of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety, Ms. 1846, MdHS, p. 17.

22. Ibid., p. 22.

23. Ibid., p. 28.

24. Thomas M. Forman to Martha Brown Forman, 29 August 1814, War of 1812 Collection, Ms. 1846, MdHS.

25. Minute Book of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety, ibid., pp. 34–37.

26. *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser,* 12 September 1814.

27. Ibid., 3 September 1814.

28. Cochran to Tobin, 15 September 1814, Hollingsworth Letters, Ms. 1849, MdHS.

29. Ibid.

30. Annie Leakin Sioussat, *Old Baltimore* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1931), p. 191.

31. Thomas Forman to Martha Brown Forman, 14 September 1814, War of 1812 Collection, Ms. 1846, MdHS.

32. Sioussat, *Old Baltimore,* p. 191.

33. Lydia E. Hollingsworth to Ruth Hollingsworth, 30 September 1814, Hollingsworth Letters, Ms. 1849, MdHS.

34. Hollingsworth to Tobin, 4 November 1814, ibid.

35. Minute Book of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety, Ms. 1846, MdHS, pp. 56–155.

36. Hollingsworth to Tobin, 8 February 1815, Hollingsworth Letters, Ms. 1849, MdHS.

Religion, Patriotism, and Poetry in the Life of Francis Scott Key

SAM MEYER

Francis Scott Key's contemporaries esteemed him as a family man, poet, orator, civic leader, lawyer, and churchman. Yet most Americans know him only as the author of "The Star-Spangled Banner." Fifty-four years ago a biographer noted that Key was still celebrated "as if he were forever suspended there in history, lute or pen in hand, a man of one exploit whose career before and afterwards is of no consequence."[1] Little has changed since then, and paintings like Percy Moran's *By Dawn's Early Light* and the statue of Key at the entrance to Mount Olivet Cemetery in Frederick, Maryland (where he lies buried), reinforce Key's popular image.

The story of the national anthem has been endlessly repeated, but as we celebrate its 175th anniversary we might well return to a theme that Lawrence C. Wroth first explored in this magazine eighty years ago—Key's deeply religious nature. To Key, as to many other Americans who grew up in the years following the Revolution, religion and patriotism were virtually fused in their ultimate purposes, as indeed were religion and literature. In an address delivered late in life to students at Bristol College in Connecticut, Key stressed the importance of religion in human affairs. There is little point, he contended, in recognizing intellectual achievements while neglecting the " 'one thing needful,' the care of the soul"; religion, he declared, "must take high precedence, and hold supreme dominion over every thing belonging to man."[2]

Commentators and political orators rightly refer to "The Star-Spangled Banner" as a hymn, for so Key intended it to be. Unlike national airs that exalt rulers or like "La Marseillaise" call soldiers to arms, Key's lyric—besides being a paean of praise—was a prayer of thanksgiving to God for having saved the city of Baltimore (then the third largest in the nation) from the damage the British had wreaked on Washington only three weeks earlier. Francis Scott Key-Smith[3] argued that his great-grandfather's verse breathed a pure, religious sentiment. Writing in 1930 (the year before Congress adopted "The Star-Spangled Banner" as the nation's official anthem), Key-Smith asserted that the Christian spirit and fortitude of the author manifested itself in the often-forgotten last stanza:

> O! thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand
> Between their loved home and the war's desolation;
> Blest with vict'ry and peace, may the heav'n rescued land

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Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation!
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto, "In God is our trust!"
And the Star-Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave![4]

Key first spoke publicly of the tie between religion and patriotism earlier in the same year he witnessed the assault on Fort McHenry. Of medium height, strong and wiry, with brown, wavy hair and dark blue eyes,[5] he was then already known in the courts as a highly effective orator. Invited to address the Washington Society of Alexandria, Virginia, on the founding father's birthday, 22 February, Key stressed Washington's admonition in his farewell address of 1796 that every citizen must adhere to the dictates of religion and morality. He reminded his listeners—many of whom had served with Washington—that the great Virginian had called upon his countrymen to "acknowledge and praise the Power that defended them." "A just and disinterested love of country," Key insisted, "springs from religion as from its natural and proper source, and is ever nourished by its influence."[6]

In 1814 Key was a devout and learned Episcopalian, thoroughly familiar with the English statesman and leader of the Anglican evangelical party, William Wilberforce. Key subscribed fully to Wilberforce's view that the Gospels supplied the only trustworthy guide to Christian conduct. In Wilberforce's *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians* (published in 1787, with twenty-five American reprints by 1826), Key found precedent for his conviction that religious faith and patriotism go hand in hand. For Wilberforce patriotism meant not a domineering quality that prompted men to aggrandize their own country by the oppression and conquest of others; to that "patriotism" religion—standing for justice, peace, and goodwill—must indeed be an enemy. The British lay leader instead defined patriotism as a quality that bound men and women to their homeland without confining philanthropy to a single nation. "Of this true patriotism," wrote Wilberforce, "Christianity is the most copious source and the surest preservative."[7]

Key's "Hymn for the Fourth of July 1832" highlighted this link between religious devotion and patriotism. Key implored the Lord to bestow His blessings on a free and rescued land and closed with a special prayer for its fallen heroes: "And when in power he comes, / O, may our native land, / From all its rending tombs, / Send forth a glorious band!"[8] This patriotic verse appeared in *Poems,* posthumously published in 1857 and edited by the Reverend Henry V. D. Johns, who noted that Key's poetry was long treasured among his friends. Johns's book merits attention because it so well displayed Key's feelings of patriotism and religion. "The Star-Spangled Banner" opened the thin volume; of the fifty-six selections in *Poems,* twenty-seven were devotional, suggesting their author's spiritual character. Six were considered of sufficiently high quality to be contained in a prestigious collection of 1868, *Lyra Sacra Americana.*[9] Here Key's company included younger contemporaries like Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (four poems); Oliver Wendell Holmes, whose "Old Ironsides" celebrated the frigate *Constitution*'s prominent part in the War of 1812 (also four); the Reverend Samuel F. Smith, whose "America" song rivaled "The Star-Spangled Banner" as a leading national

song (one); and perhaps the best hymn writer of them all, the Reverend William Augustus Muhlenberg of the Protestant Episcopal Church (five, including "I Would Not Live Away"). Muhlenberg much earlier had edited a hymnal, *Church Poetry,*[10] which included the only poem other than "The Star-Spangled Banner" known to have been published during Key's lifetime. It was "Hymn" ("Lord, with glowing heart I'd praise thee"). Number 139 in the collection, it appeared without title and without attribution.

Most of the sacred pieces in *Poems* were tenderly wrought elegies for Key's relatives and friends. Illustrative of them was the moving epitaph he wrote in 1809 for the Reverend Johannes J. Sayrs, first rector of St. John's Church in Georgetown. In it Key praised his pastor in terms that reflected his own spiritual values:

> Here once stood forth a man who from the world,
> Though bright its aspect to the youthful eye,
> Turned with affection ardent to his God,
> And lived and died an humble minister
> Of His benignant purposes to man.[11]

The blank-verse sonnet was carved on a white marble tablet and placed at the grave site. Ever mindful of the need to fight the deadly sin of pride, Key did not wish his name to appear on or near the plaque. Nor does it today. The tablet, brought up from the crypt when the church was enlarged in 1843,[12] is now affixed to the west wall of the sanctuary.

Sacred lyrics reflected Key's concern with the destiny of men and women and their relationship to God. That concern also surfaced in Key's role in black colonization. In 1816 Key was a founding member of the American Colonization Society, formed "to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other places as Congress shall deem most expedient." Key headed a list of twelve "managers," upon whose shoulders most of the real work of the society devolved. Three of the other managers were members of the clergy.[13] The society's founders viewed colonization as the only viable solution to the vexing and delicate question of slavery, but ridicule, personal calumny, and increasing opposition beset them. As one of the most conspicuous leaders of the movement, Key suffered the scorn of Southerners who identified him with abolitionists, and the derision of abolitionists who regarded him as a temporizer. Like his close friends and fellow organizers of the society, the Reverend (later Bishop) William Meade and the Reverend Robert Finley, he firmly believed that his humane purpose had the approval of Providence.

The Colonization Society was only one of many organizations devoted to the betterment of humanity which Key assisted over the years both with his labors and with his purse. Among others were Georgetown's Lancaster Society for the free education of the poor, the General Theological Seminary in Alexandria, Virginia, and the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. But, as one might surmise, Key gave the church his most consistent and enthusiastic support. He served well all four parishes he joined but most notably Christ Church, Georgetown (then an independent municipality), with which he was affiliated some twenty years, from 1817 to the middle 1830s. He then moved with his family to Washington City,

where he joined Trinity Church (no longer in existence). Key was appointed to the Christ Church committee on site and planning for a new building and was selected to attend conventions of the Maryland diocese five times between 1821 and 1828. He was elected to the governing body in the last year and served as a vestryman for the remainder of his time in Georgetown.[14] For these and other indefatigable efforts in support of Christ's, special recognition was accorded Key's memory at the consecration of the new building on the exact site of the old in 1887. At the ceremony, the rector, Reverend Albert Stuart, referred directly to the three stained-glass windows dedicated to Key: Moses and Aaron, representing the patriotism of the ancient people of God, and Miriam, the prophetess, singing her triumph song. The middle of the three windows, still in the church, bears the inscription to Key with the date of the first organizational meeting of the eight founders on 10 November 1817.

Beyond the local parish, Key also was chosen to be a delegate to every General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church (held triennially) from 1814 to 1826, and he attended all but the first. On more than one occasion, he helped reconcile the contending factions of high and low church, or the formalist and evangelical branches. He belonged to the latter party, relying on Scripture and individual conscience while the high party generally attached more weight to the traditions of the church.

So strong was Key's feeling of fellowship in the Episcopal church that he twice thought of entering the ministry. In the spring of 1814—when the war had closed the courts and his law practice was practically at a standstill—the Reverend Dr. James Kemp of Baltimore invited Key to become associate rector of St. Paul's Church. After much soul-searching, Key declined the position, explaining that if he were to enter the ministry on such handsome terms he might be thought to "act under the influence of unworthy inducements, and thus the cause of religion in some measure might receive injury."[15]

Key held fast to the belief that life on earth is transitory and that "the soul has no home" here; he never departed from the canon that true believers praise God best by participating fully in the activities of their chosen church and doing good works. In the Bristol College speech of 1834, Key reminded his youthful audience that they should, in the words of Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, "work with their hands so that they may have to give to him that needeth." He said further that, for the faithful follower of Christ, one of the richest blessings of life and "the greatest of all luxuries" was that of doing good.[16]

Guided by such beliefs and his low-church orientation, Key habitually performed acts of Christian charity. In October of 1818, for example, when a distraught mother brought her ailing infant to Key's Bridge Street house with an urgent plea that he baptize it, the lay leader granted her request. Afterwards, Dr. Kemp, then bishop, severely reprimanded him for performing this sacrament, writing that Key had assumed "an agency in the affairs of the church beyond the limits of a layman." For many years Key assisted the Reverend Walter Dulany Addison in the work of St. John's Parish, visiting the sick in hospitals and prisoners in jail. Nor did he deem it beneath his dignity to hold up the infirm pastor's arms so that he might pronounce benediction. On Sunday afternoons in these years

around 1820 Key often visited St. Paul's Church in Rock Creek, which lacked a minister, to repeat the sermon that Reverend Reuel Keith of Christ Church had preached in the morning.[17] In Key's best-known psalm, still appearing in Protestant psalters and beginning, "Lord, with glowing heart I'd praise thee," he underscored the importance of striving to live in conformity with the Christian ethic of good works:

> Lord! this bosom's ardent feeling
> Vainly would my lips express;
> . . . . . .
> And, since words can never measure,
> Let my life show forth thy praise.[18]

One of these works of benevolence brought the thirty-five-year-old lawyer and churchman to the Patapsco on the night of 13–14 September 1814—an errand of mercy to rescue Dr. William Beanes from the hold of a British warship. After the doctor's friends in Prince George's County had failed to win his release from the British, who temporarily were headquartered at Benedict, Richard West rushed to Georgetown to ask for his brother-in-law's help. Key was well acquainted with the

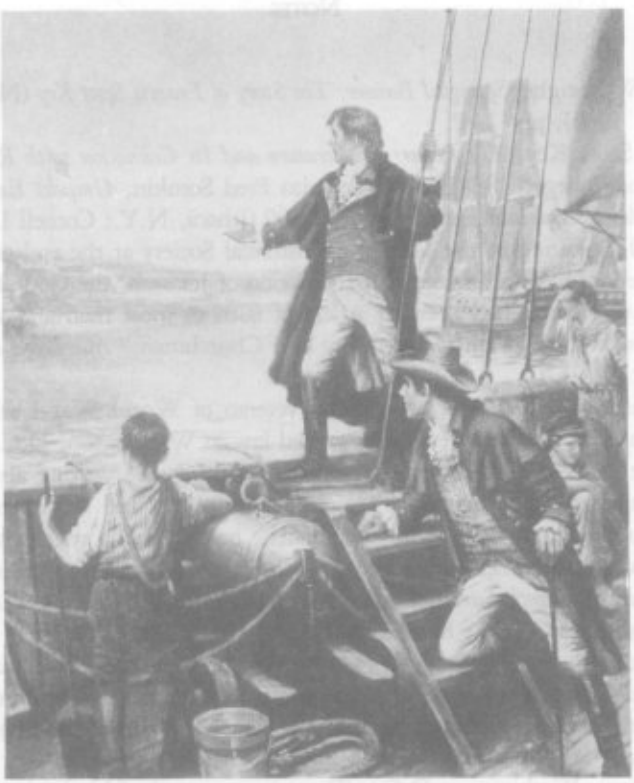


FIGURE 1. Percy Moran's 1912 oil-on-canvas, executed for the centenary celebration of the writing of the national anthem, highly romanticized Francis Scott Key's sighting of the American flag over Fort McHenry. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress.)

physician, who was described in an official letter at the time as being "far advanced in life, infirm, and unaccustomed to privation."[19]

Writing to his father on 2 September, Key voiced doubt that he would succeed in getting Dr. Beanes released. Nevertheless, he followed the Golden Rule and volunteered for the task. After obtaining approval from President James Madison and supporting documents from General John Mason for undertaking what promised to be an arduous and hazardous endeavor, Key—accompanied by prisoner-of-war exchange officer John Stuart Skinner—set sail from Baltimore down the Chesapeake Bay in search of the British fleet, which by then had gotten under way.[20]

When on Friday evening the 16th Key returned to Baltimore, he carried with him the crinkled paper on which he had tossed off the lines of a nearly completed poem. Although he set no store by worldly honors, the song brought him wide acclaim during his lifetime and lasting fame thereafter (he, however, mentioned it publicly only once). Given his devoutly Christian character, what probably most gratified him was the success of the mission. Together with Skinner, he had won the good doctor's release from British captivity and enabled Beanes to return to his residence in Upper Marlboro in plenty of time for the doctor and his wife to attend Sunday morning services at the Trinity Episcopal Church, where he was senior warden.

NOTES

1. Victor Weybright, *Spangled Banner: The Story of Francis Scott Key* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935), pp. 1–2.

2. Francis Scott Key, *The Power of Literature and Its Connexion with Religion* ([Bristol, Conn.]: Bristol College, 1834), p. 4. See also Fred Somkin, *Unquiet Eagle: Memory and Desire in the Idea of American Freedom, 1815–1860* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967), p. 170. Speaking to the Maryland Historical Society at the end of the nineteenth century, Lawrence C. Wroth noted that the notion of Jehovah, the God of Battles leading the righteous to victory, had been an article of faith to most men and women of Key's generation. See Wroth, "Francis Scott Key as a Churchman," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 4 (1909): 154–70.

3. Key-Smith (1872–1951), an overseas veteran of World War I who later rose to lieutenant colonel in the army reserve, practiced law in Washington, D.C., for more than fifty years. He made a kind of second career of speaking and writing about his ancestor and working to perpetuate his fame. He also wrote poetry and was keenly interested in literature. In a biography of his great-grandfather he included a memorial tribute, "Our Patriot," containing the lines: "He's gone to meet his God on high, / His duty here well done" (Key-Smith, *Francis Scott Key, Author of the Star-Spangled Banner: What Else He Was and Who* [Washington, D.C.: Key-Smith Co., 1911], p. 8). Only a few years before his death, in a letter to Dr. H. Paul Caemmerer, president of the Columbia Historical Society, Key-Smith offered to present an ambitious lecture, "Poetry and Poets," which he described as one of the best things he had ever done, and further said he wanted also to deliver the paper at a meeting of the Maryland Historical Society (Key file, Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.). There is no record of his having ever given the reading before either group.

4. Francis Scott Key-Smith, "The Story of the Star-Spangled Banner," *Current History,* 32 (1930): 270–71; see also Key-Smith, "Fort McHenry and the 'Star-Spangled Banner,' " *The Republic Magazine,* 1 (April 1908): 20. For a contrary, martial view of "The Star-Spangled Banner," see Henry Watterson, *The Compromise of Life and Other Lectures and Addresses* (New York: Fox, Duffield and Co., 1903), p. 334.

5. Harold R. and Beta K. Manakee, *The Star-Spangled Banner: The Story of Its Writing by Francis Scott Key at Baltimore September 13–14, 1814* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1954), p. 12.

6. For the text of Key's Alexandria address, see Edward S. Delaplaine, *Francis Scott Key: Life and Times* (New York: Biography Press, 1937), pp. 105–15.

7. William Wilberforce, *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes, Contrasted with Real Christianity* (2nd ed.; London: T. Codell and W. Davies, 1797), pp. 395–96.

8. Rev. Henry V. D. Johns, ed., *Poems of the Late Francis S. Key, Esq.* (New York: Robert Carter and Bros., 1857), p. 97. Johns (1803–1859) had been ordained a priest around 1826 in St. John's Church, Georgetown.

9. Charles Dexter Cleveland, ed., *Lyra Sacra Americana or Gems from American Sacred Poetry* (New York: Charles Scribner and Co., 1868).

10. William August Muhlenberg, ed., *Church Poetry: Being Portions of Psalms in Verse and Hymns Suited to the Festivals and Feasts, and Various Occasions of the Church* (Philadelphia: P. S. Potter and Co., 1823), pp. 208–9. Singing of "Hymn" (no. 150 in the Protestant songbook) concluded Key's funeral service in Christ Church, Cincinnati, on 9 January 1843. Key's former pastor, the Rev. Brooke, conducted the service (John T. Brooke, *A Sketch of the Character of the Late F. S. Key* [Cincinnati: Wilson and Drake, 1843], p. 14).

11. Johns, ed., *Poems,* p. 132.

12. Mary Mitchell, *A Short History of St. John's Church, Georgetown from 1796 to 1968* (n.p., [1968]), p. 7.

13. For the object of the American Colonization Society, its first officers and managers, and the duties of the principals, see *The First Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the People of Color . . . and the Proceedings of the Society in the City of Washington on the First Day of January 1818* (Washington, D.C.: D. Rapine, 1818).

14. On Key's contribution to this parish (and on the commemoration on the stained-glass windows there, see Albert R. Stuart, *A Sermon Delivered in Christ Church Georgetown, D.C. on the Morning of the Third Sunday in Advent, 1887* ([Georgetown, D.C.]: n.p, n.d), p. 10.

15. Key to Kemp, 4 and 28 April 1814. Facsimiles of these and other letters and papers from the Maryland Diocesan Archives, Maryland Historical Society, were supplied to me by Glenn A. Metzdorf, archivist of Christ Church, with the consent of the rector, Rev. Sanford Garner.

16. Key, *Power of Literature,* pp. 7, 17.

17. The affair of the disputed baptism is in the Key-Kemp correspondence, 12 and 17 October 1818, Maryland Diocesan Archives. For Key's help to Rev. Addison, see Wroth, "Francis Scott Key as a Churchman," p. 164. Key's repeating of Rev. Keith's sermon is mentioned in a letter, Metzdorf to Larsen, 2 August 1985. Norman L. Larsen is the president of the Francis Scott Key Foundation, established in 1983 to create a public park as a memorial to Key on the lot just east of the former Key mansion at 3516 M (formerly Bridge) Street in the capital. The park, now under construction, will include a bronze bust of Key mounted on a pedestal and located in the center of a pergola, a replica of the flag that flew over Fort McHenry in 1814, and commemorative plaques and benches. The

first and main phase of the project is scheduled for completion in time for the dedication of the park on 14 September 1989.

18. Johns, ed., *Poems,* p. 172.

19. General John Mason, U.S. commissary general of prisoners, to Major General Robert Ross, British army commander, 2 September 1814, quoted in George J. Svejda, *History of the Star Spangled Banner from 1814 to the Present* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1969), p. 61. This letter, hand-carried by Key for delivery to Ross, formally requested the release of Dr. Beanes.

20. See Francis Scott Key to John Ross Key, 2 September 1814, in P. W. Filby and Edward G. Howard, comps., *Star-Spangled Books* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1972), p. 151. In an unpublished paper read before the Maryland Historical Society on 14 October 1929, Francis Scott Key-Smith drew attention to the hardships and difficulties of Key's undertaking. It included a day's journey via horse-drawn stagecoach over rough roads between Georgetown and Baltimore, and then a sailing by packet to catch up to the British fleet not far from the mouth of the Patuxent River (Francis S. Key-Smith, "Francis Scott Key and the National Anthem," pp. 13–14). Another descendant, Anna Key Bartow, noted that Key purposely kept his wife ignorant of the peril of the mission, knowing that it would increase her anxieties for him ("Recollections of Francis Scott Key," *Modern Culture,* 12 [1900]: 206). Key stood in no physical danger from Fort McHenry's cannonading of the British fleet on the night of 13–14 September since the truce boat was anchored well beyond range of the fort's guns (Walter Lord, *The Dawn's Early Light* [New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1972], p. 291; see also Harold R. Manakee, "Anthem Born in Battle," in *Star-Spangled Books,* p. 31).

Book Reviews

Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980. By Robert J. Brugger with the assistance of Cynthia Horsburgh Requardt, Robert I. Cottom, Jr., and Mary Ellen Hayward. (Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society. Baltimore, 1988. Pp. xiii, 676. Illustrations, notes, bibliographic essay, selected maps, figures, and tables, chronology, index. $29.95.)

What should be the goals of a state histoty? Traditionally, most state histories were little more than exercises in filiopietism or boosterism. They acquainted impressionable schoolchildren, aspiring politicians, and the self-satisfied social elite with the mythic exploits of the famous men of the past.

Now the task is more complex. States have lost much of their aura. Their governments are overshadowed by Washington; their businesses are mere adjuncts of multinational corporations. Moreover, authors must now contend with the more rigorous scholarly standards of academic history and the political realities of cultural pluralism. They are expected to debunk myths and not to spin heroic yarns; to deal fully and fairly with the triumphs and tragedies of women as well as men, immigrants and slaves as well as WASP's and masters, the purveyors of popular music as well as the exemplars of elite culture. No easy task!

In these demanding circumstances, a modern state-history should accomplish three tasks. The first is descriptive. It should provide a coherent chronological story of the state and its inhabitants. Robert J. Brugger's volume largely meets this test. It divides Maryland's 350-year history into twelve chronological chapters, each with a distinct conceptual theme. For example, "Tobacco Coast" provides the topic for the years 1690 to 1760; "A House Divided" for the tumultuous years of the Civil War; and "Land of Pleasant Living" for the two decades beginning in 1946. The chapters are long and contain disparate material; nonetheless, their themes impose an intelligent framework on a complex reality.

Maryland: A Middle Temperament also achieves the second major goal, which is to explicate the unique cultural and political identity of a state and to bring to life the men and women who shaped its destiny. Thus, well-known Maryland characters strut proudly across the pages of Brugger's history—the Calverts and Carrolls of the distant past and the Menckens and McKeldins of living memory. So also do the social groups whose values and customs created a diverse, and at times combustible, culture: Frederick County Germans, Baltimore Jews and Irish, the white masters and black slaves of Prince George's County. If the coverage of well (and lesser-) known individuals and groups is comprehensive and hence verges on filiopietism, the analysis avoids boosterism. Brugger sympathetically describes the values and behavior of bland and controversial historical actors alike, but he does not endorse them. In fact, by juxtaposing the divergent viewpoints of Patriots and Loyalists, Confederates and Yankees, political bosses and Progressive reformers, H. Rap Brown and Spiro Agnew, he reveals the impossibility of telling Maryland's story from a single moral perspective. In the past, as in the present, reality was too complex and contradictory to yield simple truths.

Brugger draws upon the state's diversity to develop his grand theme of Maryland's "Middle Temperament." Throughout its history, he suggests, Maryland manifested a middling, moderate sensibility. Its climate and geographic position allowed it to escape the extremes of New England's frigid winters and rigid Puritans on the one hand and of

the Deep South's srifling humidity and oppressive slave regime on rhe other. Similarly, Governor Ritchie pursued a pragmatic "middle way" by resisting federal enforcement of prohibition while accepting federal funds for roadbuilding. Or, to take another example, Eubie Blake's ragtime jazz helped to create an "artistic middle ground" (p. 472) between Maryland (and American) whites and blacks. If Brugger's conception of a "Middle Temperament" is somewhat vague and irs application somerimes strained, it is also provocative and interesting. For it forces the reader to ponder the overall significance of Maryland's history.

But what of the more intimate details, the day-to-day experience of life? The third task of a modern history is ro use the stare's experiences to explore those social, economic, and political processes common to all Americans. It should undertake a close analysis of Maryland events and people in order to probe, in microcosm, the mysteries of American hisrory. In rhis regard, Brugger's volume is less successful. Consider rhe handling of the important topic of suburbanization. We read about the Greenbelt town-planning experiment at one place (pp. 514–16), of zoning battles and shopping malls at another (pp. 581–87), and of the Columbia project ar yet another (pp. 603–604). Here, as elsewhere in the volume, the treatment is too episodic and particularistic. It does not shed sufficient light on crucial aspects of rhe broader American hisrorical experience.

But no book can do everything equally well. And the achievements of *Maryland: A Middle Temperament* far exceed its shortcomings. Ir is comprehensive in scope yet concise in treatment, scholarly in content yet engaging in prose, cautious in judgment yet adventurous in interpretation. Maryland's historical record has been both controversial and proud; now, in Brugger's volume, its people have a history of that experience of which they can, without controversy, be very proud.

JAMES A. HENRETTA
University of Maryland, College Park

Great Houses of Maryland. By Susan Stiles Dowell with photographs by M. E. Warren. (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1988. Pp. x, 179. Photographs, notes. $34.95.)

Based on the usual five-second analysis of flipping rhrough a new book's pages, I would venture a guess that most general readers would either buy this book or want to take a closer look; it gives us an attractive look at the wide range of Maryland's hisroric architecture.

Susan Stiles Dowell has put together an abbreviated history of twenty-one Maryland houses open to the public having "the most socially and architecturally fascinating stories to tell." The book's descriptive title is misleading, however. The houses are not all "great" in a big-house sense. Nevertheless, they *are* all interesting. Built between 1710 and 1870, these houses range from the well-known truly "great" houses to the little known regional varieties of vernacular dwellings. The houses we generally associate with "great" are those that are better known: Mount Clare (1756–1760, Baltimore), the Paca House (1765, Annapolis), Brice House (1767–1773, Annapolis), the Chase-Lloyd House (1769–1774, Annapolis), Montpelier (1770–1785, Prince George's County), the Hammond-Harwood House (1774–1775, Annapolis), Hampton (1783–1790, Baltimore County), Homewood (1801–1809, Baltimore), and the Carroll Mansion (1808–1818, Baltimore). Then there are those that are more modest in both pretention and notoriety: Sotterley (1710–1727, St. Mary's County), the Jonathan Hager House (1739–1740, Hagerstown), Schifferstadt (1756, Frederick County), London Town Publik House (1758–1764, Anne Arundel County), Union Mills Homestead (1797, Carroll County), Teackle Mansion (1801–1803,

Somerset County), the Neall House (1804–1810, Easton), Poplar Hill (1805–1810, Salisbury), Ladew Manor House (ca. 1830, Harford County), Evergreen House (ca. 1850, Baltimore), and the Surratt House (1852, Prince George's County). Government House (ca. 1870, Annapolis) is well-known publicly yet unknown as an open house. To her credit, Dowell went beyond the great and the less great houses to include regional vernacular examples such as the Hager House, Schifferstadt, Union Mills Homestead, and the Surratt House. The author might have passed up the Teackle House and Poplar Hill in favor of the wonderful, unrestored, yet open-to-the-public Riversdale Mansion in Prince George's County. A serious omission, in my opinion, is the unforgettable Clara Barton House in Glen Echo, a late-nineteenth-century residence equalling the idiosyncracy and delight of any house anywhere.

Each entry contains modest-length text giving the reader a thumbnail sketch of ownership history, historical events, architecture, furnishings, and preservation/restoration history. Despite docent-repeated old house tales of bullets, secret passages, ghosts, etc., the story of each house is definitely unique and worth reading. In content and length, each chapter falls somewhere between the free hand-out brochures and the one- to three-dollar booklets you might get at the houses themselves.

Dowell commissioned award-winning photographer Marion E. Warren to take 173 photographs for the work. While most of his color prints are very good and do justice to the details and general views, the book is marred by a poor editorial decision to include twenty-six small, underexposed, and murky black-and-white photographs.

What is the usefulness of this work? In its field it falls squarely on the side of general readership. The author writes in an easy-to-read, journalistic prose for the logical reason that more than half of the chapters were adapted from previous articles published in *Maryland Magazine, Southern Accents,* or *Country Magazine.* Is there new material included? Probably not. Is each chapter well-rounded in subject matter? No. Do we always get some feeling for the interiors or architecture? No. Take as one example the chapter on Hampton Mansion, in which Dowell barely describes Charles Ridgely's great gardens. While Hampton's interiors might reflect some of the best-documented furnishings, Dowell discusses them only briefly in photographic captions. She does not mention paint research and new colors. She does not discuss proposed plans to interpret eighteenth- and nineteenth-century agricultural production. Most surprisingly, she ignores the recent significant discovery that the farmhouse on the property is a seventeenth-century structure. For the most part, the best sense the reader gets of each house is that of its ownership and social history. Professionals outside of Maryland, unfamiliar with the houses, will find this book helpful as a guide, as will Marylanders familiar with only some of the houses (one must furnish his or her own maps of the state and counties).

In the final analysis Dowell has done us all a favor, professionals and general readers alike. Whether discussing the German-American examples of the Hager House or Schifferstadt, the High Georgian accomplishments of Hampton or Hammond-Harwood, the recently restored Homewood, the simple, Quaker-influenced Neall House, or the evolving, eccentric, personal statements such as Ladew Manor or Evergreen, she will whet your appetite for more than a few road trips. That may be success enough for *Great Houses of Maryland.*

TRAVIS C. MCDONALD, JR.
Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia

Baltimore County Panorama. By Neal A. Brooks and Richard Parsons. (Baltimore County Heritage Publications Series by the Baltimore County Public Library. Norfolk and

Virginia Beach, Va.: Donning Company, 1988. Pp. 319. Appendix, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

Popular photography had its beginning 150 years ago when Louis J. M. Daguerre introduced the daguerreotype. Years of technological advances and the marketing of the Kodak camera by George Eastman in 1888 led more and more amateurs and professionals to record everyday events through photography. *Baltimore County Panorama* joins a long list of albums that have come out in the past few years using pictures to characterize an area. Many of them, following a pre-determined format, differ from the others only in title and content.

Neal A. Brooks, professor of history at Essex Community College, and Richard Parsons, an administrator of the Baltimore County Public Library system, have been associated with other county historical publications. They contacted many organizations, businesses, and individuals to collect the pictures that they considered best representative of the county's heritage. There are forty-two pictures, the majority from the last decade, prefacing the collection of sepia-tone and black-and-white images on subsequent pages. Included in the ten sections—life and leisure, transportation, public service, schools, events, churches, agriculture, business and industry, houses, hospitals and institutions—is a good selection spanning the years from the beginning of popular photography to the present day.

Brooks and Parsons have left a comprehensive history of the county to other books in this series; in *Panorama* pictures more than words record what has vanished, what has changed, and what has replaced old landmarks. For example, the reader learns through graphics that in the Depression the WPA performed much construction and repair work at the McDonogh School. Photographs of both formal and informal groups of people illustrate dress and daily activity. Unfortunately, a group picture often results in a long enumeration of individual names.

Place this photographic essay, with its attractive cover—a snow scene of Hampton—in a prominent place. It will surely start a conversation beginning, "Have you lived in Baltimore County for a long time?" Marylanders from other places can only hope that the publisher will soon undertake an album covering their own "hometown."

JANE C. SWEEN
Montgomery County Historical Society

A Private War: Letters and Diaries of Madge Preston, 1862–1867. Edited by Virginia Walcott Beauchamp. (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1987. Pp. xl, 337. Appendices, notes, index. $29.95.)

Virginia Walcott Beauchamp's *A Private War* examines the two lives of Madge Preston, the wife of a well-to-do Baltimore lawyer in the mid-nineteenth century. On the one hand, Preston's life was typical of most affluent white women during that period of time. She attended church regularly and supervised not one, but two family households, each with its own small staff of servants. She wrote long letters to her daughter May and on occasion made the round of visits to family and friends which society dictated to be a part of women's roles. On the other hand, Madge Preston's life was not a typical one at all but rather a nightmare of pain and sorrow: she was also a battered wife.

The story of Preston's battering is told in the pages of her diaries, kept from 1862 to 1867, while her letters for this same time describe an idyllic family scene—no doubt Preston's attempt to distance herself and her loved ones from the horror of her "private war." Beauchamp has woven these two levels of discourse into a narrative that allows the reader to view both sides of Preston's life.

Margaret Smith Preston was thirty-one years old when she married her husband William, a bright Baltimore lawyer and politician with an impressive oratorical style and an eye for the ladies. William Preston was a notorious philanderer. He spent numerous unexplained nights away from home and was implicated by his wife in the birth of an illegitimate child to one of the family servants, a woman named Clara who died a year after the baby was born. In addition, he engaged in a series of dalliances with his wife's two nieces Rose and Theodosia Smith not unlike the one James Henry Hammond undertook with the daughters of Wade Hampton.

In 1859 William Preston suffered a severe head injury as the result of a beating by several thugs after a Know-Nothing rally in Baltimore. According to Beauchamp, it was shortly after William incurred this injury that his attitude to his wife changed. He became the victim of debilitating headaches that caused him to fly into violent rages usually culminating in either verbal or physical abuse. On one occasion in February of 1865, William knocked Madge, nearly unconscious, to the floor; on another, he struck her on the head with a cane with such force that three weeks later she required medical attention. Madge confined the record of these abuses to her diary, while the letters she wrote to her daughter at a convent school in Emmitsburg pictured a life of connubial bliss.

Historians of women in the nineteenth century will find much that is familiar. The book opens with an introduction that places the Preston documents in the context of recent scholarship on the period. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's work on the "female world" of the nineteenth century is reflected in Preston's relationships with her husband and the women in her life. Her correspondence with her daughter reveals much about women's education. In addition, as was typical of most well-to-do women of the period, Madge's diaries and letters offer a running commentary on women's fashion and on the work women did as part of their daily lives. The introduction of a sewing machine into the Preston household is an amusing interlude that demonstrates the ways in which technology altered women's work.

Madge Preston's papers provide a fascinating glimpse of spousal abuse in the nineteenth century, and scholars should be indebted to Beauchamp for bringing them to light. Seldom do we have such an account of battery during this period through the eyes and words of a victim. Beauchamp's juxtaposition of letters and journal entries for the same period of time helps to underscore the shame and frustration Preston must have felt and, on some occasions, her terror at being forced to continue living with a man she thought might be insane.

Beauchamp's editorial comments, both in the introduction and interspersed throughout the text, help to bridge some of the gaps in the sources; but there are some problems. At times the documents seem to have been over-edited, and the commentary does not always place them in the fullest historical context. There are footnotes and a list of characters at the back of the book, but often these are inadequate for providing a complete explanation of a particular individual or event. More importantly, Beauchamp's explanation of William Preston's behavior appears to be flawed. Although she is careful to state in the introduction that "trauma alone" did not make William Preston "a wife beater" (p. xxvi), she returns to that argument over and over again, noting that he was "furious with life" because of the beating he had suffered in 1859 and transferred that anger to his wife—something that twentieth-century scholars of domestic violence refer to as dyscontrol syndrome (pp. xxvii and 349 n. 8).

Although William Preston's head injury cannot be discounted, it seems that his abusive behavior was more directly related to the presence of Madge's two nieces in the Preston home. The true nature of their relationship with William is never fully revealed, but it seems obvious from her journal entries that Madge was quite troubled by it. Whenever

Rose or Theodosia was present, the violence escalated. When the girls were absent, the outbursts ceased, and the Prestons settled down into a more harmonious lifestyle. Beauchamp acknowledges this fact on several occasions but still keeps returning to William's head injury as a justification for his conduct.

Despite these shortcomings, *A Private War* makes a valuable contribution to the literature of women in the nineteenth century. It provides us with an absorbing account of wifebeating during a period of time which might be considered more genteel by contemporary standards and demonstrates how one woman attempted to cope with her "private war." With Hedda Nussbaum's battered face peering at us from the cover of *People* magazine, it might be easy to think that spousal abuse is a twentieth-century phenomenon. By bringing the story of Madge Preston to life, Virginia Beauchamp has demonstrated that it is not.

E. SUSAN BARBER
College of Notre Dame of Maryland

Unseen Harvests. By Albert J. Silverman. (Baltimore: Victory Press, 1986. Pp. 130. $10.)

If ever laypersons fully appreciate the multi-dimensional role of the classroom teacher, they likely will owe their enlightenment to teachers who have survived to tell of it. In *Unseen Harvests* Albert J. Silverman, a retired Baltimore City teacher, offers a fictional, apparently semi-autobiographical source of such enlightenment.

Silverman focuses on the changing environment at Baltimore Polytechnic Institute in the 1970s and in doing so outlines the crisis in American public education generally. He describes an educational system in which standards have eroded. He weighs the impact of wars, laws, shifting values, and changes in curriculum and teaching methods on public schools between the 1940s and 1970s. He examines the part the school board and central office play in dealings with classroom teachers and the public. He presents a realistic, if discouraging, picture of the classroom teacher and his status.

As the story unfolds in July 1972, Ben Whiteman—a dedicated sixty-two-year-old teacher—agonizes over whether to retire or continue teaching at Poly under steadily worsening conditions. His thoughts go back to the early 1930s when, following graduation from Johns Hopkins, he had to work three jobs (including "subbing" for $3.50 a day) before his appointment to teach history at Poly. Ben's appointment enabled him to marry his beloved Naomi; it also marked the beginning of his love affair with Poly, then a model of educational excellence. Both unions lasted longer than three decades. As Ben mulls over his dilemma, he daydreams of a happy childhood in historic Old Town with his brother and their parents—poor, hard-working Romanian immigrants. He remembers two old men—a Jew and a black barber born into slavery—whose fascinating tales inspired in him a love of history and biography. Silverman re-creates many of the sights, sounds, and smells of early-1900s Baltimore: colorful markets, the clip-clop of horses on cobblestone streets, and the unmistakable scent of OEA wagons; he offers glimpses of Mount Vernon Place, the Peabody Conservatory, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Maryland Historical Society, Walters Art Gallery, Lexington Market, and other sites of historic interest.

But the chief contribution of *Unseen Harvests* lies in its portrayal of educational decline. In one illustrative incident three Poly teachers, in response to a request from black leaders, devoted the summer of 1952 to the tutoring of the first blacks admitted to Poly—all of them promising students. The faculty refused salary for this work and kept the project a "secret" for many years (p. 58). An unhappier incident involves a "failing-in-everything" student who in 1965 confronted and cursed his English teacher as a "son of a bitch" (p.

88). A "cheerful, outgoing fellow with a ready smile" and a World War II veteran, the teacher struck his antagonist and carried him bodily to the principal, who suspended the young man. But the school board in turn suspended the teacher, subjected him to an open-hearing trial, and reprimanded him before finally reinstating him. Silverman tells us that afterward "he was a changed man . . . silent, morose, and embittered" (pp. 89–90). In 1973, Silverman writes further, Baltimore City teachers went on strike after having been denied an 8 percent salary increase. "After two anxious months the strike effort collapsed and the teachers accepted the humiliating terms offered by City Hall. It was a stinging and ignominious defeat. The teachers returned to their classrooms disheartened," Silverman observes, "shorn of their self-respect. The indignity was more than some could bear . . ." (p. 121).

Yet Silverman does not overlook the special rewards that nothing, not even public indifference, can take away from teachers—the accomplishments and gratitude of former students. For Ben, one rewarding moment comes when he is a guest at the thirty-year reunion of one of his classes. A graduate there speaks of Ben's fair-minded but firm handling of a racially motivated incident in history class. "What you said and did that morning has influenced me all my life," he tells Ben, "as, no doubt, it did others in that classroom" (p. 44). And, most fittingly, the return of a former student as the new superintendent of Baltimore City schools a few days before the retirement-application deadline proves the deciding factor in Ben's decision to stay in the classroom.

In a decade when our school children face life-threatening dangers—most of which in the 1970s we could not have imagined—Silverman's stark picture of the scholastic climate of that period makes an urgent plea for helping this country's public schools and the classroom teachers who are indispensable to them. *Unseen Harvest* calls on us to understand the system and its problems and then to work to improve the educational environment.

ADELE V. HOLDEN
Baltimore, Maryland

Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity. Edited by Richard Beeman, Stephen Botein, and Edward C. Carter II. (Chapel Hill and London: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1987. Pp. ix, 366. Notes, index, notes on contributors. $25.)

Readers looking for a synthesis of recent historical research and thought on the Constitution will not find it in *Beyond Confederation*. The thirteen essays in this volume illuminate many issues and raise probing questions but hand down no definitive statement on the meaning of the Constitution and constitution building to late-twentieth-century Americans. The views put forth in this collection are as varied as the positions of the convention delegates themselves, at times agreeing, at times disagreeing, and united only in the specific object that brought them together. Most of us would prefer to have history made easy, but to expect scholars working independently to reach some sort of consensus is wrong-headed. Rather, we should rejoice that these experts keep close to their sources and provide the well documented, insightful pieces that allow us to work toward fashioning our own understanding of the creation, ratification, and implementation of the Constitution.

Richard Beeman's introduction provides historiographical context for the twelve substantive essays in the volume without attempting to synthesize the authors' work. He points out, instructively, that the contributors are mostly specialists in early America and therefore "emphasize the distinctively *eighteenth-century* character of the Americans' understanding of their new federal union" (p. 19). Thus there is little attempt to relate present-

day controversies to the framers' intent. The one exception is the late Stephen Botein's excellent essay on religion, in which he argues that the Constitution was secular not because the majority of framers wanted separation of church and state but because they thought questions regarding religion should be left to the states. Indeed, despite the document's secular content, government in the United States has always had a religious dimension.

Stanley N. Katz finds the constitutional underpinnings of the American Revolution in the colonists' rejection of parliamentary sovereignty, which was the outcome of the Glorious Revolution, thus challenging the view of Bernard Bailyn and Gordon S. Wood that "the constitutional tradition [was] subordinate to Revolutionary political ideology" (p. 28). Ralph Lerner scathingly criticizes as post-psychological the characterization of the revolutionaries as paranoids by Bailyn and Wood and on the contrary asserts that the most important were "thinking revolutionaries" (p. 66) responding to the very real imperial threat to their virtual self-rule.

Wood's essay in this volume does not address Katz's or Lerner's concerns but instead offers convincing evidence on the source of conflict between federalists and antifederalists. Federalists adhered to the standard that leaders should be disinterested and therefore retired from business (with income from money at interest and rented lands). Their opponents, antifederalists like William Findley of western Pennsylvania, believed everyone had interests and viewed the Constitution as an attempt by federalists to secure their finances by wresting control of paper money from the states. Richard D. Brown provides further insight on the antifederalists by showing how repression of Shays's Rebellion strengthened their political base in Massachusetts, while Janet A. Riesman effectively expands upon Wood's piece, demonstrating that many on both sides of the ratification question "were forward-looking ideologues who espoused alternative conceptions of money and commerce" (p. 156). Federalists wanted to ground currency on specie, while antifederalists contended that land and production represented the real wealth of the nation. Lance Banning describes how James Madison's thinking evolved during the course of the convention; Paul Finkelman and Drew R. McCoy come to opposite conclusions on the influence of slavery on the Constitution; Jack N. Rakove shows how the process of ratification undercut the major goal of federalists in calling the convention—to remedy the excesses of state legislatures; and Richard E. Ellis traces what he believes to be the essential facet of antifederalist opposition to the Constitution, "the fear of centralized governmental authority" (p. 314), through the administration of James K. Polk.

John M. Murrin's epilogue "A Roof without Walls," in form if not in the specifics of his provocative argument, provides unity for this collection. Looking back over the colonial period, Murrin argues that in the seventeenth century the American colonies were diverse, that eighteenth-century anglicization provided a commonality based solely on things English, that in revolting against England they also rejected their commonality and thus had no foundation for unity after the Revolution. The Constitution saved the day and in fact was the only common tie holding the states together for decades. Murrin's essay is not, and is not meant to be, a synthesis of the essays that precede it. But it does evoke the understated theme of the volume: that the Constitution was a product of the society that produced it, and that from the moment it was signed in September 1787 its meaning changed as the nation it tied together evolved.

JEAN R. SODERLUND
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Masters and Slaves in the House of the Lord: Race and Religion in the American South, 1740–1870. Edited by John B. Boles. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1988. Pp. iv, 257. Notes, index. $25.)

Masters and Slaves in the House of the Lord adds texture to our knowledge of slavery and emancipation in the American South by exploring from a variety of perspectives the religious experience of black women and men. Editor John B. Boles has brought together an impressive set of essays which, individually and collectively, argue persuasively that religion provided both a sense of liberation and communal identity for blacks even while churches upheld slavery and the prevailing ideology of white supremacy. Eight articles, ranging in time from the Great Awakening of the 1740s to Reconstruction, examine most completely the participation of African Americans in biracial churches before the Civil War and the exodus of blacks from white-dominated churches after Appomattox.

Alan Gallay employs the example of George Whitefield and his followers, the Bryan family of South Carolina, to demonstrate that from the first southern revivals evangelicalism held a dual meaning for slaves. Whitefield and the Bryans promoted conversion and education of blacks—thereby defying the opposition of fellow planters and inviting prosecution—but did so to justify slavery rather than to destroy it. Essays by Larry M. James, Randy J. Sparks, Robert L. Hall, Blake Touchstone, and Randall M. Miller focus on the variety of biracial religious fellowship in the antebellum era. James, citing as evidence the similarity with which the records of Baptist churches in Louisiana and Mississippi referred to black and white members, presents the most optimistic view of black participation, arguing that "in a society of absolute inequality, local Baptist churches often provided for slaves and masters, blacks and whites, temporary interludes of symbolic equality, which found expression in various aspects of local congregational life" (p. 38). Sparks sees less equality in the biracial churches of Amite County, Mississippi, stressing that "the white-dominated church could not provide the same community-building service for blacks that it did for whites" (p. 67). Robert Hall surveys the variety of religious experience of black Floridians, of necessity (because of the nature of surviving records) focusing on organized biracial churches rather than on the secret religious meetings through which blacks grasped a measure of autonomy. In a suggestive analysis Hall denies that racially mixed churches offered much more than a "thin layer of communal identification" (p. 96) between whites and blacks. White church leaders frequently established separate seating and chapels when the numbers of black members warranted them and blacks joyfully withdrew from biracial churches with emancipation.

In his "Planters and Slave Religion in the Deep South" Blake Touchstone discusses how slaveowners embraced Protestantism as a means of social control and justification for slavery during the fifteen years before the Civil War. Randall Miller offers many insights on slaves and Catholicism—most notably in Maryland and Louisiana. Like the organized Protestant churches, the southern Catholic church gave unwavering support to the slave system while ameliorating the circumstances of individual blacks through the sacraments (including marriage) and personal piety. In two final essays Clarence L. Mohr examines the efforts of Georgia churchmen during the Civil War to reform slavery by legalizing education of blacks, allowing slaves to preach, and protecting slave families; and Katharine L. Dvorak addresses the question of why southern churches separated along racial lines so quickly during Reconstruction. In Dvorak's analysis, segregation resulted from the desire of freed men and women for autonomy, not from any pressure of white clergymen and laypersons who, on the contrary, would have preferred a continuation of biracial worship over which they had control.

Masters and Slaves is more successful than most collections of essays in sustaining a

common theme, and this intellectual harmony—despite topics that vary in time, place, and denomination—raises expectations in the reader's mind. In the face of arguments about the role of biracial churches in mitigating slavery, one wonders what proportion of blacks participated. Several essays provide statistics on church membership but offer no estimate of this sort. Also lacking is a sustained analysis of how the nature of black-white fellowship might have varied over time within denominations as they moved from initial phases of evangelicalism towards establishment of church hierarchies.

From *Masters and Slaves* we gain a greater understanding of the wide variety of experiences of blacks in slavery, of the strategies slaves could use to expand control over their lives without rebelling or running away, and the shadings of opinion held by whites within the prevailing racial ideology. It is a genuine contribution to the literature on slavery in the South.

JEAN R. SODERLUND
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

The Roots of Southern Distinctiveness: Tobacco and Society in Danville, Virginia, 1780–1865. By Frederick F. Siegel. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987. Pp. xi, 205. Notes, bibliography, index. $22.)

The Roots of Southern Distinctiveness is a promising but unsatisfying work. Its promise is to offer an alternative to interpreting Southern history from either a paternalistic Marxist perspective based on the tidewater experience or from conclusions derived from the capitalistic market forces model of the Cotton South. Siegel argues that the dynamics of tobacco production in the upper South created a much different result than either of these models. Soil and climate, not slavery, were the primary determinants of distinctiveness. The disappointment results from a number of basic methodological questions and the essential point of whether or not Danville is fairly representative of the Tobacco South. This may be the seed that flowers into a viable alternative to the dominant interpretative frameworks of antebellum Southern history; or it may not.

The basic thesis is that tobacco was the root of Southern distinctiveness in Danville. Soil quality and climate, rather than ties to the peculiar institution or the planter's pre-modern mentalité, determined prosperity, and the demand for bright tobacco in the mid-nineteenth century brought the region affluence after fifty years of only modest success. Danville planters, far from being backward-looking atavists who resisted change, were forward-looking entrepreneurs who actively courted economic development. They were instrumental in chartering the city in 1793 as a tobacco inspection station, and they persistently labored to assure its well being thereafter. They sponsored and invested in regional transportation ventures, the creation of manufactories, and urban development. Despite these attentions, the local economy went through several boom and bust cycles before the production of bright leaf tobacco brought fortune in the decade prior to the Civil War.

Danville's prosperity almost overlapped the demise of its labor source. The city was transformed from a trading village to the third largest tobacco manufacturing center in Virginia by the completion of the railroad and the expansion of tobacco manufactories in the late 1840s. Most of the new factory workers were either slaves or slave-hires. Such growth brought tensions to the community. Residents, concerned about the influx of strangers, pressed for greater social control of both black and white laborers, as well as stricter liquor regulation. A proliferation of watches and time pieces suggests a shift in the traditional work ethic. Affluence continued during the war because of the town's strategic regional location. The last days of the war pitted town leaders against Confederate officers

who sought to destroy bridges and military stores. The locals prevailed to minimize damage to the town's economic lifeline.

A fundamental problem with this interpretation is the role of the planter-entrepreneur. The author nicely shows how important internal improvements and manufacturing were to Danville's development. He also documents that some affluent planters played an instrumental role in this process. What is lacking is a sense of who these men were in the wider community. There is no indication of the total number of planters in the region, how many of them were indifferent or hostile to such development, or whether there was significant opposition from non-planters to these goals. The author also asserts that tobacco farmers are more similar to northern family farmers than southern grandeés because both worked the land and paid close attention to their crops. The planter-entrepreneurs may not have been the same people as the tobacco producers. There is also the nagging possibility that Danville's riches were the product of the construction of the railroad and the external demand for bright tobacco, thus fitting the capitalist market model that the author felt was so distorting to Southern history.

There is much suggestive material in this book. It would be fascinating to comprehend more fully how the slave system adapted to changes in the 1850s. What was the source of the slave-hires who worked in the manufactories; did this work take them from the fields altogether or were they seasonally employed; how did the physical growth of the town affect social control; and how did the war affect such patterns? While this study purports to cover the Civil War era, there was little direct evidence below the elite level on the impact of the war years on the community.

WHITMAN H. RIDGWAY
University of Maryland, College Park

Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis. By Daniel W. Crofts. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1989. Pp. 502. Appendices, notes, bibliographical essay, index. $45.)

Many people tend to forget that the secession crisis of 1860–61 did not unite the American slave states, even those that would eventually end up in the Confederacy; it divided them. While South Carolina led Georgia and the five Gulf Coast states in a political bolt from the constitutional republic prior to Lincoln's inauguration, eight other slave states—including Maryland, of course—refused to follow. Because the bolt of those lower southern states appears in retrospect to have been the first and most dramatic step in a seemingly inexorable chain of events that led to the Civil War, historians have analyzed the secession of the lower South in great detail. The politics and personalities there are well known, and scholars have long debated such questions as whether the events were rational or irrational, party-driven or slaveholder-driven, determined primarily by older geographical factors or by more recent economic factors, or affected in any way by class. Surprisingly little attention has been paid, however, to developments in the upper South during the secession winter. While politicians in the lower South maneuvered their states out of the Union, who was maneuvering to retain the loyalty of the upper South, and how did they manage it at the state level?

Daniel W. Crofts, who devoted fifteen years to exhaustive research in the appropriate libraries and archives, has finally given those last questions the close attention they deserve. In *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis* he limits his analyses to Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina, but people familiar with political events in Maryland during the secession crisis will surely find insight after insight in this excellent new monograph.

Crofts demonstrates that secession sentiment in Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina was associated with slaveholding and Breckinridge Democrats (in that order) and that Union sentiment, which rallied itself into a viable, victorious, and promising new political force at the state level during January and February of 1861, was associated with nonslaveholding areas and, generally, with former Whigs. That crude summary, however, does not do justice to Crofts's detailed and analytically sophisticated book, which probes patterns and variations at the county level in all three states and takes into account the impact of individual leaders where they appear to have made a difference.

According to Crofts, the Union party that jelled in the upper South in response to the secession crisis had all the characteristics of a major new party. Indeed, had events gone diffetently, he speculates, the events of 1861 may have brought about a lasting realignment in the uppet South comparable to the one that spawned the Republican party in the North seven years earlier. Partly for this reason, Crofts is much more sensitive and sympathetic than most previous wtiters to the mediating efforts of William Henry Seward, the secretary of state who was trying to persuade the newly installed Lincoln administration to strengthen the political position of the upper southern Unionists by surrendering Fort Sumter as a gesture of pacific intent. But Ptesident Lincoln, who takes a harder line in Crofts's version of the secession crisis than he does in most others, decided roughly a month into his first term that he had to try to sustain Sumter. That provoked a showdown with what might be called the southern rim confederacy, and Lincoln responded with a call for volunteers to confront the seceders and repossess both the power and the property of the United States.

The call for volunteers, the use of force by the central government against the southern rim states (as distinguished from the Sumter showdown itself) destroyed in a day the political base the Unionists had built in Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina during the secession winter. Once the issue was armed force rather than political maneuver, most Unionists in Crofts's three states felt themselves betrayed by their would-be friends in Washington and overtun by resurgent secessionist sentiment at home. Many, including such well known figures as Zebulon Vance and Jubal Early, did an abrupt about-face. All three of Crofts's states (plus Arkansas) precipitously joined the previous bolters to round out the Confederate States of Ametica as most people today would commonly picture it. Even so, however, the western section of Virginia seceded from the seceders to create the Union state of West Virginia and East Tennessee sent more men into the federal army than it did into the Confederate army. Those sections represented a sort of inverse of what happened in parts of the Eastern Shore and the tobacco counties of Maryland, when Unionists hete—unlike their counterparts in Vitginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina—were able to hold their ground at the state level.

Though it is impossible not to wonder about the long-term strength of a political force that could be blown away in a day, the analyses offered in *Reluctant Confederates* are for the most part compelling. General readers will find here a voluminous work of rich detail and inclusive synthesis. The material ranges from personality sketches to statistical tables (which are effectively presented with the general reader in mind). Crofts's short essay describing the ways in which his work relates to that of previous historians of secession is superb. Academic historians will find here by far the best monograph ever written about the Unionists of the upper South. Long overshadowed and obscured, those politicians and exactly what they did during the secession crisis have now been brought fully and clearly into the light. For that we are all very much in Crofts' debt.

JAMES C. MOHR
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

If It Takes All Summer: The Battle of Spotsylvania. By William D. Matter. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988, Pp. 455. Notes, bibliography, and appendices. $29.95.)

That titanic struggle the American Civil War focused the attention of the nation for fifteen days (7–21 May 1864) on a crossroads in the Virginia countryside forever enshrined in the pages of history as Spotsylvania Court House.

What is the significance of the Battle of Spotsylvania? Why did Matter choose to write about this particular battle? Three other battles, all as costly and bloody as Spotsylvania, were fought in the vicinity: Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and the Wilderness. Matter's excellent five-page introduction gives a broad-brush background of the strategy and tactics that led to the Spotsylvania campaign, the principals involved, and their command problems. In every Eastern battle the goal of the Union armies was the Confederacy's crown jewel Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy. General Robert E. Lee drove Union forces back across the Rappahannock or Rapidan rivers in all but the fourth battle, Spotsylvania Court House. Lee had finally met his match in Ulysses S. Grant, who was determined to defeat Lee "If it takes all summer." Matter's monumental work includes a sixteen-page bibliography and fifty-one pages of notes authenticating a detailed account of a battle that consumed 25,000 men and proved to be the twilight of the Confederacy.

Projecting the panorama of this confused engagement proves a most difficult piece of work. Thousands of principals from privates to generals and scores of units were involved, in organized disorder, amidst some of Virginia's thickest woodland. Where should the writer place emphasis—on the human experience of war or the complexities of maneuvering forces into combat? Does the reader really care whether "Wright's division proceeded quietly eastward along the pike for approximately one mile, turned to the left, and assumed their new position north of the road?" I had to discipline myself to finish this book. It was factual, authentic, and extremely well documented, but terribly boring. I got lost time and again in the maze of detail of troop movements and the fruitless search for material not included in the maps. The lay reader would be better served by the text-and-atlas technique, wherein detailed maps support flowing narrative.

In tramping over the battlefield, I found the ferocity of combat revealed to me much more succinctly in an inscription on a monument dated 12 May 1864. "Here at a bend in the line, the area known as bloody angle, occurred the most savage, long-sustained hand to hand combat of the war. The opposing troops fired muzzle to muzzle and bayoneted and clubbed one another across the logs of the parapet."

STANFIELD S. MCCLURE
Fredericksburg, Virginia

The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right In American History. By David H. Bennett. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. Pp. x, 509. Appendix, notes, index. $29.95.)

While according to its author *The Party of Fear* "has been years in the making" (p. ix), it is well worth the time and effort. David H. Bennett, professor of history at Syracuse University and author of *Demagogues in the Depression: American Radicals and the Union Party, 1932–1936* (Rutgers, 1969), has provided the first complete treatment of nativism from the Puritans through the era of McCarthyism. Originally conceiving of a study of twentieth century nativism, Bennett broadened his research to encompass earlier movements. The result is a work of 408 pages of text, 90 pages of footnotes, and over a third of the narrative devoted to the years before 1900.

The chief virtue of the *Party of Fear* lies in its comprehensiveness. Bennett has read all the important secondary works in the field and supplemented them with an extensive survey of the periodical literature of nativist groups. He has neatly summarized the theoretical literature of at least two generations of historians working in this field, which makes the footnotes alone worth the price of the book. Even specialists will be hard-pressed to discover any nativist movements overlooked. Comprehensive and detailed *The Party of Fear* also is a good read. Bennett writes in a crisp, fluid style and maintains an air of detachment about subject matter at which many a writer would be tempted to poke fun.

Bennett uses the terms nativist and anti-alien interchangeably. He appears to accept John Higham's outline of who and what nativists feared, first formulated in the 1950s: First, the nativists detested Catholics and later Jews; second, they hated foreigners and considered them intellectually inferior and generally unassimilable; third, they feared so-called anti-American and radical ideas. What makes Bennett's work unique, however, is the way he refines Higham's definition. Bennett distinguishes between the early nativists who hated alien Catholics and Jews and the post-World-War-I nativists who detested alien ideas, especially radical left-wing ideologies like communism.

It is Bennett's premise that the earlier nativists attacked immigrants per se—Irish, Germans, Jews, Italians—and that later nativist movements (Klan attacks against Catholicism in the 1920s and the vilification of communism in the red scares after both world wars) condemned foreign ideologies. Yet early and later nativist organizations attacked both the specific groups and their ideologies. For example, in the three decades before the Civil War, Irish and Germans were singled out not only because they were foreigners but also because they were Catholics. In the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, southern- and eastern-European immigrants such as the Italians and Polish were also considered to be unassimilable Americans because they were foreigners who held alien religious and political beliefs.

At the same time, Bennett dismisses too easily the decline of anti-alienism in modern America. Had he focused his attention on the targets of modern day nativist attacks rather than absolving right-wing political and religious groups of changes of anti-alienism, he would not have announced "the demise of nativism." A combination of factors—passage of a non-discriminating Immigration Reform Act in 1965, an open U.S.-Mexican border, and wars in Korea and Vietnam—have enabled large numbers of Hispanics and Asians to enter the United States during the past two decades. While Bennett is correct in saying that no influential nativist organizations oppose these newest immigrants, this does not mean that nativist sentiments have disappeared. For example, resentment against illegal immigrants and even legal Mexican-Americans, debates over bilingual education, the re-emergence of "gook" jokes, and fears that the Asian students swelling the science and engineering classes in the nation's universities may somehow compromise our national security all are signals that Professor Bennett may have given nativism a premature burial.

These criticisms notwithstanding, Bennett has written the best book on American nativism. He may have to add another chapter before he retires from the academic world, but until that time comes this reviewer is willing to bet that *The Party of Fear* will remain the standard reference work on American nativism. The book deserves a wider audience, which it will gain if the University of North Carolina Press publishes a paperback edition.

LARRY MADARAS
Howard Community College

Books Received

Maryland schoolchildren have many heroes and heroines to learn about in their first encounters with history—Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Harriet Tubman, Francis Scott Key, Frederick Douglass, Henrietta Szold. Among them stands Matthew A. Henson, whose story, *A Black Explorer at the North Pole* (New York, 1912), now has reappeared in paperback with an introduction by Susan A. Kaplan, director of the Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum. Born in Charles County in 1866, Henson rose from cabin boy out of Baltimore to explorer of the Arctic, accompanying Commander Robert E. Peary on several explorations beginning in 1891 and then taking part in the famous (and recently controversial) polar expedition of 1908–1909. Henson's autobiography makes highly interesting reading; it combines high adventure with social history and offers an object lesson in courage and drive. Young people will appreciate the large type and illustrations.

University of Nebraska, $6.95

The summer issue of the magazine included an essay discussing early photography in Baltimore and introducing one of the most talented of its practitioners, Charleston native Solomon Nunes Carvalho. Fortunately for those who wish to know more of Carvalho, his work, and his travels in western America the Jewish Historical Society of Maryland has open through the end of the year an exhibit devoted to Carvalho and his marvelous career. The Maryland Humanities Council and Arts Council both supported the society in assembling the exhibit and in publishing an attractive catalog, *Solomon Nunes Carvalho: Painter, Photographer and Prophet in Nineteenth Century America.* With it, one may browse through highlights of the show and savor articles by curator Elizabeth Kessin Berman, Janet A. Headley (who writes on Carvalho's artistic training), Bernard P. Fishman on Carvalho as photographer, and Ross J. Kelbaugh, our summer contributor, on Carvalho's Baltimore studio. Joan Sturhalm offers comments on the artist's lost daguerreotypes. A handsome, useful publication.

Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, $11

Robert I. Alotta studied under the Temple University military historian Russell Weigley (a recent visitor to the University of Baltimore), supervised restoration of Fort Mifflin in Philadelphia, and then published a study of a single Union private soldier who deserted and paid the price. Now, in *Civil War Justice: Union Army Executions under Lincoln,* he examines every military death penalty carried out during the war, year by year, with descriptive material on each case where available and introductory chapters treating army rules and regulations, the courts-martial manual, the implementation of justice, and the ritual of execution. Alotta describes his work as "a factual account of how Lincoln's lack of management skills, his vacillation in regard to military justice decisions, and his complete disregard for the Constitution caused the deaths of many Union soldiers . . . off the battlefield," "a frightening account of justice denied to hundreds of poor, uneducated soldiers," and the story of "a major government 'cover up' of the actual number of men who were executed by court martial order" (p. vii). Alotta, who teaches communications,

not history, sounds much like Geraldo Rivera on satanic cults. The War Department in 1885 reported 267 wartime executions; Alotta finds eight more, bringing the total to "at least" or "more than 275," depending on which page one reads (see pp. 186–87). Executed deserters may have been poor and uneducated, but so, largely, was everybody else. Finally, Lincoln didn't cause executions; taking French leave and getting caught and punished did. Perhaps enough to say that military justice is to justice as military music is to music.

White Mane, $24.95

News and Notices

Maryland Historical Society Celebrates Anniversary of National Anthem

This 14th of September 1989 marks the 175th Anniversary of Francis Scott Key's writing of the "Star-Spangled Banner." The Maryland Historical Society, holders of Key's original manuscript, will celebrate by moving it from the niche where it has been located since 1954 to a more accessible second-floor, main-building location. There Key's draft will join other Battle of Baltimore relics and an educational video, made possible by the Maryland Humanities Council, in an all-new, permanent War of 1812 exhibit that opens on 14 September. Thanks go to Maryland National Bank, sponsor of the reinstallation, and to WJZ-TV, media sponsor, for supporting this nationally significant event. Plans for the exhibit opening include transformation of the Maryland Historical Society's Counting-room into a nineteenth-century tavern complete with live music; a living-histoty actress portraying Mary Pickersgill, sewer of the flag that flew over Fort McHenry; and the opportunity for guests to have a souvenir photo taken with "Mr. Key."

Later events, both of them to take place at the society, will explore historical issues of the period. On 17 September from 3–5 P.M. Scott Sheads, historian and Fort McHenry park ranger, will lecture on the War of 1812. At 3 P.M. on 24 September Kathleen Baker will discuss and sing examples of 1812 tavern songs. For more information on these and other scheduled events call the Maryland Historical Society at 301/685-3750.

Oral History Lecture

On 15 October at 2 P.M. Dr. Andrea Hammer will lecture at the Maryland Historical Society on using oral histoty in contemporary research. Dr. Hammer will focus on the economic changes that have occurred in the rural black communities of St. Mary's County over the past forty years.

Maryland Historical Society Book Prize

The Maryland Historical Society annually provides a $1,000 prize for the most important book published during the preceding two years in the field of Maryland histoty and culture. The purpose of this award is to encourage still more the interest that is surging nationwide in state and local histoty, and, among the many volumes that are appearing on Maryland, to honor the most outstanding.

This year, at the June meeting of the society, the book prize for 1989 was awarded to Robert J. Brugger's *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980*. The volume was supported by the France-Merrick Foundation and the Maryland Historical Society and was published in 1988 by the Johns Hopkins University Press. In reviews and elsewhere it has been cited as the best one-volume history that has appeared for any American state. Dr. Brugger, author of several books, currently serves as associate editor of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Papers at Johns Hopkins University, editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, and adjunct professor of history at the University of Baltimore.

Special Honorable Mention for this year's book prize went to Tom Horton, *Bay Country* (Johns Hopkins, 1987), a lyrical evocation of the natural history of the area. Last year's prize went to Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800* (University of North Carolina, 1986).

The book prize is administered by the Publications Committee of the Maryland Histor-

ical Society. The book prize subcommittee included John Higham (Johns Hopkins) as chairman, Jean Baker (Goucher), James H. Bready (Sunpapers), and William S. James (former State Treasurer).

MARITIME HISTORY CONTEST

The Maritime Committee of the Maryland Historical Society and the University of Baltimore are pleased to announce the first annual Maryland Maritime History Essay Contest, the purpose of which is to stimulate research in Maryland maritime history. Subjects that prospective authors might consider include all aspects of seafaring between the years 1830 and 1860: ships, boats and their equipment; cargoes, catches, or passengers carried on Maryland vessels and the economic systems they operated within; their officers and crews; naval activities; and maritime law. Papers should rely on primary source materials and not exceed 6,000 words in length. The deadline for submission will be 10 January 1990 with the winners being announced in the late spring of 1990. Cash awards will be given to the top three papers in the amount of $300 for first place, $125 for second, and $75 for third. Participants must submit four copies of their papers; since it is hoped that winners will submit their essays to the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for possible publication, they are requested to follow the magazine's contributor's guidelines (see pages 98–100 of the spring 1989 issue or write to the assistant editor for a copy). Mail papers to the Maritime Essay Contest, The Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201.

NEW ESSAY PRIZE FOR UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS

The Education Committee of the Maryland Historical Society announces that, beginning next summer, it will award an annual prize of $250 for the best college/university student research paper dealing with a subject in Maryland history and making use of primary sources that include the collections of the society. All full- and part-time students are eligible; deadline for this year's submissions will be 30 May 1990, with the winners announced in next winter's issue of the magazine. Judges will base their decision on originality, tightness of reasoning, and literary quality. Address submissions in quadruplicate to Undergraduate Prize Committee, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201.

COUNTY HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

The editors of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* salute colleagues who produce local historical publications and occasionally would like to call our readers' attention to journals of special note. The Calvert County Historical Society, among the state's most active in terms of education and publication, produces *The Calvert Historian* with a generous grant from the Baltimore Gas and Electric Company. The magazine's spring 1988 issue highlights criminal executions in the county, Confederates of Calvert origin, and artifacts salvaged from the site of the Belvedere Hotel—once a proud fixture at the railway resort of Chesapeake Beach. Lou Rose, editor of the magazine, may be contacted at Post Office Box 175, Sunderland, Maryland 20689. The Garrett County Historical Society publishes a fine chronicle of local history. *The Glades Star,* and, in the same neighborhood, the ladies of the Youghiogheny Glades chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Oakland have put together a booklet honoring the Maryland State Society, DAR. In it they list Revolutionary War soldiers who either lived in far-western Maryland when war broke out or moved there afterward, along with other first settlers in the area. Contact

Alice Proudfoot, Post Office Box 387, Oakland, Maryland 21550, for further information.

New Market Days

The thirtieth annual New Market Days will be held 22–24 September in New Market, Maryland, a nationally registered historic district of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the late 1700s and for most of the last century New Market was a stop on the National Pike between Baltimore and points west. During the celebration this scene is re-created with nineteenth-century craft demonstrations, food for the weary traveler, musicians, and antiques. Admission is free. For information and brochures write Box 102, New Market, Maryland 21774.

Lee Takes Position at William and Mary

Jean Butenhoff Lee, a member of the history faculty at the University of Wisconsin, has been named director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at the College of William and Mary. Assuming her position on 1 July, she succeeded Professor Thaddeus W. Tate, Jr. The magazine soon will publish some of Dr. Lee's work on post-revolutionary Charles County.

Library of Congress Launches Travelling Exhibit

The exhibit, To Make All Laws: The Congress of the United States, 1789–1989, will carry information on the creation of Congress and how it works to thirty cities across the nation beginning 1 November and continuing throughout 1990. Portraits, cartoons, maps, posters, manuscripts, photographs, rare books and other materials will be used to communicate Congress's achievements over the past 200 years and to bring that history to life. Educational materials for ongoing use by teachers and school and public librarians will accompany the exhibit. For more information and a schedule of cities contact Nancy F. Bush, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540, 202/707-9190.

Calls for Papers

The Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, University of Notre Dame, solicits proposals for sessions and papers to make up a major conference on American Catholicism in the Twentieth Century, which the center plans to sponsor 1–3 November 1990. Proposals should include vitae of participants and a one- or two-page summary of each paper's thesis, methodology, and significance. Deadline is 15 January 1990. Send entries to the Cushwa Center, 614 Hesburgh Library, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556, 219/239-5441.

The thirteenth Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will be held at the Pensacola Hilton, Pensacola, Florida, 3–5 October 1991. In keeping with the Columbus Quincentenary theme, the conference will be devoted to "Discovery and Exploration of the Gulf Coast." Selected papers will appear in a special spring 1992 edition of the *Gulf Coast Historical Review*. Contact Dr. W. S. Coker, Department of History, University of West Florida 32514, or Dr. Ted Caragiorge, Department of Political Science, Pensacola Junior College, Pensacola, Florida 32504.

Genealogical Query

Seeking genealogical information concerning Harriet (Jones) White, a black woman born in Maryland in 1859 and who died 27 January 1899 in Dames Quarter, Maryland. Daughter of Alfred and Martha Jones. Married Charles White ca. 1879. Please contact

SK2 Charmaine C. White, CFAY Supply Box 40, Code 430, FPO Seattle, Washington 98762-1100.

IN PURSUIT OF THE *HELEN A. MILLER*

Seeking any information on a ship called the *Helen A. Miller*—built in Baltimore in 1851 by William and George Gardner and owned by J. Henderson, then of 77 Pratt Street in Baltimore. Please write M. A. Seymour, 21 Corston Village, near Bath, BA2 9AW, England.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

Test your knowledge of Maryland history by identifying this Baltimore scene. Where was this photograph taken? When was it taken? Have any changes taken place since the photograph was made?

The summer 1989 Picture Puzzle depicted the No. 7 Fire Station on the corner of Eutaw Street and Druid Park Avenue, ca. 1910. The building still stands, but the tower has been removed.

The following people correctly identified the spring 1989 Picture Puzzle: John Riggs Orrick; George W. Rokos; Mrs. Martin E. Boessel, Jr.; Harry F. Scott; Albert L. Morris; Mr. and Mrs. Theodore R. McKeldin, Jr., and family; Jeffrey A. Lees; John Holland, Jr.; Wayne R. Schaumburg; Carlos P. Avery; James F. Schneider; Thomas C. Jones; and G. Harvey Davis.

Please send your response to:

Prints and Photographs Division
Maryland Historical Society
201 West Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Maryland Historical Society
Publications List

Five copies of a single work may be ordered at a 40% discount (except for hardbound *Silver In Maryland* and *Furniture in Maryland 1740–1940*). All orders are to be prepaid. Postage and handling of $2.00 for the first item and $.50 for each additional item must accompany the order (except where noted). Maryland residenrs must include 5% state sales tax. Prices are subject to change without notice. Address all orders directly to the Publications Department, Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, Md. 21201.

A. Hoen on Stone: Lithographs of E. Weber & Co. and A. Hoen & Co., Baltimore 1835–1969 52pp. Illus. 1969. $7.50 ($6.75)

ANDERSON, GEORGE McC. *The Work of Adalbert Johann Volck, 1828–1912, who chose for his name the anagram V.* Blada 222pp. Illus. 1970. $20.00 ($18.00)

ARNOLD, GARY. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Lloyd Papers.* 27pp. 1972. $2.00 ($1.80)

BOLES, JOHN B. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the John Pendleton Kennedy Papers.* 30pp. 1972. $2.00 ($1.80)

BOLES, JOHN B. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the William Wirt Papers.* 23pp. 1971. $2.00 ($1.80)

BYRON, GILBERT. *The War of 1812 on the Chesapeake Bay.* 94pp. Illus. 1964. $5.00 ($4.50)

CALLCOTT, GEORGE H. *A History of the University of Maryland.* 422pp. Illus. 1966. $9.50 ($8.55)

CALLCOTT, GEORGE H. *Maryland Political Behavior.* 64pp. 1986. $4.50 ($4.05)

COLWILL, STILES T. *Francis Guy, 1760–1820.* 139pp. Illus. 1981. (paperback) $15.00. ($13.50)

COLWILL, STILES T. *The Lives and Paintings of Alfred Partridge Klots and His Son, Trafford Partridge Klots.* 136pp. Illus. 1979. $9.50 ($8.05)

COX, RICHARD J. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Calvert Papers.* 32pp. 1973. $2.00 ($1.80)

COX, RICHARD J. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Mordecai Gist Papers.* 26pp. 1975. $2.00 ($1.80)

COX, RICHARD J. AND SULLIVAN, LARRY E. *Guide to the Research Collections of the Maryland Historical Society; Historical and Genealogical Manuscripts and Oral History Interviews.* Supplemented by #40 354pp. 1981. $22.00 ($19.80)

DRAKE, JULIA A. AND ORNDORFF, J. R. *From Mill Wheel to Plowshare* (Orndorff family genealogy). 271pp. 1938. $10.00 ($9.00)

DUNCAN, RICHARD R. AND BROWN, DOROTHY M. *Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations on Maryland History.* (Supplement published in Maryland Historical Magazine, Fall 1985) 41pp. 1970. $5.00 ($4.50)

FILBY, P. WILLIAM AND HOWARD, EDWARD G. *Star-Spangled Books.* 175pp. Illus. 1972. $17.50 ($15.75)

FOSTER, JAMES W. I *George Calvert: The Early Years.* 128pp. 1983. $4.95 ($4.45)

GOLDSBOROUGH, JENNIFER F. *Silver in Maryland.* 334pp. 1983. $30.00 ($27.00)

HAYWARD, MARY ELLEN. *Maryland's Maritime Heritage: A Guide to the Collections of the Radcliffe Maritime Museum.* 31pp. Illus. 1984. $3.00 ($2.70)

HEYL, EDGAR G. *I Didn't Know That! An Exhibition of First Happenings in Maryland.* 61pp. Illus. 1973. $3.00 ($2.70)

JENKINS, EDWARD FELIX. *Thomas Jenkins of Maryland, 1670: His Descendants and Allied Families.* 392pp. 1985. $20.00 ($18.00)

KAESSMANN, BETA; MANAKEE, HAROLD R.; AND WHEELER, JOSEPH L. *My Maryland.* 446pp. Illus. Rev. ed. 1972. $7.00 ($6.30)

KENNY, HAMILL. *The Placenames of Maryland: Their Origin and Meaning.* 352pp. 1984. $17.50 ($15.75)

KEY, BETTY MCKEEVER. *Maryland Manual of Oral History.* 47pp. 1979. $3.00 ($2.70)

KEY, BETTY MCKEEVER. *Oral History in Maryland: A Directory.* 44pp. 1981. $3.00 ($2.70)

LEVY, RUTH BEAR. *A Wee Bit O'Scotland: Growing Up in Lonaconing, Maryland at the Turn of the Century.* 67pp. 1983. $8.00 ($7.20)

LEWIS, H. H. WALKER. *The Lawyers' Round Table of Baltimore and its Charter Members.* 86pp. 1978. $7.50 ($6.75)

MANAKEE, BETA K. AND HAROLD R. *The Star-Spangled Banner: The Story of its Writing by Francis Scott Key at Baltimore, 1814.* 26pp. Illus. $1.00 ($.90)

MANAKEE, HAROLD R. *Indians of Early Maryland.* 47pp. 3rd printing, 1981. $3.00 ($2.70)

The Mapping of Maryland 1590–1914: An Overview. 72pp. 1982. $6.00 ($5.40)

MARKS, BAYLY ELLEN. *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the David Bailie Warden Papers.* 21pp. 1970. $2.00 ($1.80)

MARKS, BAYLY ELLEN. *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Robert Goodloe Harper Papers.* 25pp. 1970. $2.00 ($1.80)

MARKS, LILLIAN BAYLY. *Reister's Desire: The Origins of Reisterstown . . .* (Reister and allied families). 251pp. 1975. $15.00 ($13.50)

MARTZ, RALPH F. *The Martzes of Maryland.* 189pp. 1973. $5.00 ($4.50)

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINES $4.00 an issue.

MEYER, MARY K. *Genealogical Research in Maryland—A Guide.* 3rd Ed. 80pp. 1983. $8.00 ($7.20)

News and Notes of the Maryland Historical Society. $2.00 an issue.

Parade of Maryland Fashion: Costume exhibit, 1750–1950. 35pp. Illus. 1970. $4.00 ($3.60)

(Peale Family) Four Generations of Commissions: The Peale Collection of the Maryland Historical Society. 187pp. Illus. 1975. $4.00 ($3.60)

PEDLEY, AVRIL J. M. *The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society.* Supplemented by #13 390pp. 1968. $20.00 ($18.00)

PORTER, FRANK W., III. *Maryland Indians Yesterday and Today.* 26pp. 1983. $4.95 ($4.45)

RADCLIFFE, GEORGE L. *Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War.* 131pp. 1901. Repr. 1965. $5.00 ($4.50)

SANNER, WILMER M. *Record of Robert Mackey and William Mackey and their Descendant . . . 1729–1973.* 1974. $7.50 ($6.75)

SANNER, WILMER M. *The Sanner Family In the United States.* 1968. $25.00 ($22.50)

STIVERSON, GREGORY A. AND JACOBSEN, PHEBE R. *William Paca: A Biography.* 103pp. Illus. 1976. (soft cover) $4.95 ($4.45) (hard cover) $7.95 ($7.15)

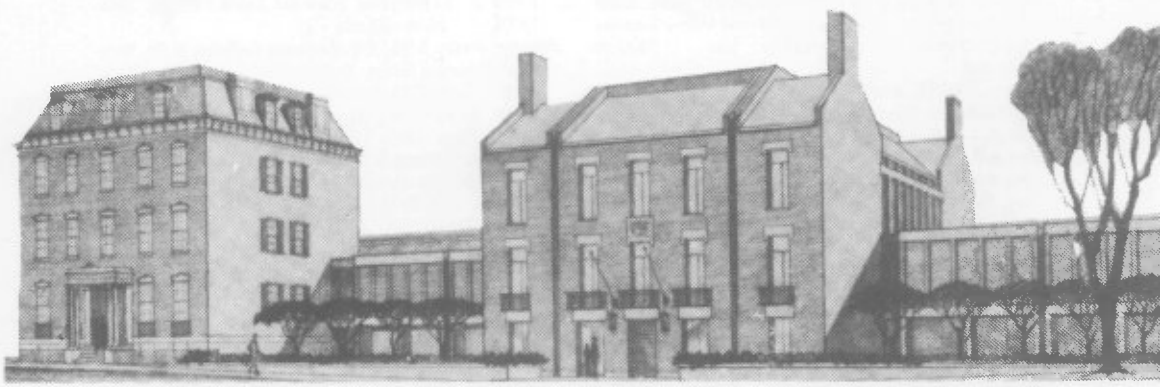
THOMAS, DAWN F. AND BARNES, ROBERT W. *The Greenspring Valley: Its History and Heritage.* 2 vols. 602pp. Illus., with genealogies. 1978. $17.50 ($15.75)

WEEKLEY, CAROLYN J.; COLWILL, STILES T. et al. *Joshua Johnson, Freeman and Early American Portrait Painter.* 173pp. Illus. 1987. $25.00 ($22.50)

WEIDMAN, GREGORY R. *Furniture in Maryland, 1740–1940 in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society.* 344pp. 1984. $37.50 ($33.75)

Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History. 24 titles, 1945–1962. Important for schools; each $.25 set $5.00

The Maryland Historical Society offers several classes of membership: individual, $25; family, $35; contributor, $50; patron, $100; sponsor, $250; associate, $500; benefactor, $1,000. Membership benefits include free admission to the Museum and Library, invitations to lectures and exhibit openings, a 10% discount in the Museum Shop and Bookstore and on all society publications, and subscriptions to *News and Notes* and *Maryland Historical Magazine*. For additional membership information please write or telephone the Society, (301) 685-3750.



Maryland Historical Society
Museum and Library of Maryland History
201 W. Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Museum and Library: Tues.–Fri. 10–5, Sat. 9–5.
For Exhibition Hours and Information, Call (301) 685-3750